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LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS.

PROGRESS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

THE graduation ceremony at the University of Manchester which took place on the 2nd and 3rd of July, was presided over by the Vice-Chancellor (Sir Henry Miers), who described it as his farewell appearance, inasmuch as his tenure of office will expire at the close of the present session.

For eleven years Sir Henry Miers has occupied the important office of Vice-Chancellor, with distinction to himself and also to the University, whose affairs he has guided with such unfailing tact and sanity of judgment. He leaves behind him a host of friends, to whom he has endeared himself by his winning personality and capacity for friendship, who wish him the greatest possible happiness in his retirement, which will certainly not be an inactive one.

In his farewell address Sir Henry Miers took an interesting survey of the changes and developments in the affairs of the University, which have taken place during the eleven years that have elapsed since his installation in the office which he now relinquishes.

His words are so full of wisdom that we venture to print them in the belief that they will be read with interest by many of our readers, especially those overseas.

"When I came here in the autumn of 1915," said Sir Henry, "the conditions were very different from those that prevail now. It was the first year of the war, and we had hardly begun to realise the magnitude of all that was happening, or to imagine that it was fated to last so long. And it is surprising when one looks back to find how great have been the changes, and how rapid the growth of the University in spite of the four terrible years during which so much of our work was suspended, and so many of the students and staff were torn away from us. And yet many of the changes

were due to the war and to the enthusiasm for education which flared up in 1919.

"We appealed to the public in 1919, and raised a quarter of a million for the University. Eight new professorships were established, the staff was increased by more than fifty, the number of students by about 1,200, the arts building was erected, the museum extension was begun and is now nearly completed, the fine large extension was added to Ashburne Hall which now accommodates 130 students instead of 66, the pavilion at the Firs was extended, the whole medical school was reconstituted, practically new departments were established in architecture, metallurgy, psychology, geography, colloid chemistry, and crystallography, the library added 60,000 volumes to its store and we are now building a large underground chamber to hold them, while the annual grants we receive from the Treasury and local authorities now amount to about £70,000, as against £23,000 in 1915 when I came.

"The Ph.D degree has been instituted. We have become part of a Parliamentary constituency including seven modern universities, and returning two members to Parliament. The higher school certificate was started, I think, in 1914, and while there were 740 candidates in 1915, there are now 3,000. The candidates for the school certificate have in the same period risen from 3,400 to 14,000 or so. The tutorial classes for working people have grown from 17 to 41. The National and International Unions of Students have become large and powerful organisations. Our own Shrove Tuesday 'Rag,' which was a very mixed orgy and of doubtful popularity in 1915, is now a well-organised affair, and can raise £11,000 for the hospitals, mostly out of the streets of Manchester. I doubt whether any other university can show a more impressive record in proportion to its size.

"When I went to America in the last year of the war I was delighted to find in what high estimation this University was held, and all that has happened since must have increased its reputation as a strong, growing, and an enlightened university, founded upon the sturdy Lancashire character and flourishing upon Manchester enterprise and even upon the smoke that it engenders. So you may well believe that I am sorry to leave this inspiring and invigorating centre.

"On the present occasion, in addressing the new graduates, I am addressing for the most part companions in adversity. For me, as for you, this is a farewell appearance. We have, however, this consolation in common, that as graduates of Manchester we remain members of, and shall not lose our connection with, the University in which we have spent happy hours, of which we are proud, and to which we are loyally attached. For you and for me the occasion is one of gratitude for the privileges which we have enjoyed, tempered perhaps with the doubt whether we have made the best possible use of them. Whether you or I have worked the harder, I cannot say. In any case, it has meant a great deal of work as well as enjoyment for both of us.

"And now you are going to be free of lectures, and I am going to be free of university committees. There is, however, a difference between us. For me the occasion is one of retirement into comparative leisure. I can at

any rate imagine (whether it be true or not) that I am going to read all the books which I have wanted to read, visit all the places which I have wanted to see, and do all the things which I have wanted to do. For you the occasion is different. It is one of embarkation on a voyage into the unknown —a journey of infinite possibilities and responsibilities, an entry upon a more strenuous and by no means a more leisurely life than you have been leading for the last three years or so. One would like to know exactly what these last few years mean to you, or still more interesting would it be to know what they will mean when you look back on them after an interval, say, of ten years, in 1936.

"At present, I suppose, they mean that you have had a wonderful and exhilarating experience, or rather, a series of experiences; of opportunities for acquiring knowledge, for exercising all one's powers, for enjoying social activities, and for making friendships such as will never recur in any three years of one's life. In other words, of having a better time than you are ever likely to get again. Or, put it another way; just think what you would have missed if you had not come to the University. You would then have gone straight into business or teaching, or some other occupation or profession, without the splendid equipment that university life has given you. Whether you realise it or not, you would have been quite different, either for better or worse, both in mind and body. The contrast is really a profound one. It will now be a much more violent shock to change your present life for a new career than it would have been if you had gone straight from school, because one's nature is less pliable and more set at the age of 20 or 21 than it is at the age of 17 or 18, and because on leaving the University one has acquired a host of new interests and tastes that one did not possess when one left school.

"And now to return to my question—what will all this mean ten years hence? That depends entirely upon yourselves. It may help you to give the right answer if you always bear in mind how much you owe not only to your family and friends, but also to the University, and that the only way to repay that debt is to help to maintain the reputation of the University by keenness in your work, by keeping alive your interests, by cleaving to your friends, and by continuing to lead a healthy life. The honour of the University rests upon the honourable lives of its graduates."

THE SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA.

The "Study of the Spread of Christianity in Central Asia and the Far East," which Dr. Mingana contributed to the July (1925) issue of the BULLETIN, and which by reason of its importance was issued also in separate form, has been received with such grateful appreciation by scholars not only in this country and on the continent, but also by scholars in the East, that Dr. Mingana has been prevailed upon to treat of the early spread of Christianity in India in the same exhaustive manner, and we have much pleasure in printing the resulting study in the present issue.

This study has involved a much more considerable amount of research than the former. In the case of Christianity in Asia and the Far East, the history is known, as Dr. Mingana points out, through native Greek and Syrian authors of the countries dealt with, who have handed down records of the principal ecclesiastical events by which their lands were affected. Whereas in the case of India no history of the church has ever been written, and all the available information concerning even the mere existence of a Christian community side by side with Brahmanism and Buddhism in that immense country is almost exclusively derived from Syriac and Greek authors, whose allusions are of a somewhat casual character and constitute only imperfect, disconnected and scattered pieces of evidence.

There are, however, in Dr. Mingana's opinion, solid grounds for believing that a fairly large Christian community existed in India from very early times. Some of its members may have been aliens of a Graeco-Roman, Aramean, or Persian origin, who had settled there for commercial undertakings, but the majority were undoubtedly Indians, by blood and ancestry, who had embraced the new faith for its own sake, from Christian missionaries who had gone to them from Persia and Mesopotamia.

Dr. Mingana has thoroughly explored every possible source of information, and has produced a study which forms an appropriate continuation of his former monograph, which cannot fail to be of permanent value to students.

THE SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY IN ARABIA.

The present study will be followed by a third which may be regarded as the complement of the other two as soon as Dr. Mingana is able to carry out the necessary investigations. It will deal with the spread of Christianity in Arabia, the Islands of the Arabian Sea and of the Indian Ocean.

THE APOSTLE THOMAS IN INDIA.

Dr. J. N. Farquhar, Professor of Comparative Religion in the University of Manchester, who contributed an article to the January (1926) issue of the BULLETIN on "The Apostle Thomas in North India," has been continuing his investigations and we hope to publish in the succeeding issue, a similar study dealing with "The Apostle Thomas in Southern India."

CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE.

The Classical Association of England and Wales will this year hold its annual meeting in Manchester, in the month of October, when most appropriately the Lord Chief Justice of England, Lord Hewart of Bury, who is an old Mancunian, will deliver the presidential address. Many other distinguished scholars, including some from overseas, are also expected to take part in the proceedings.

The Governors of the Library will entertain the members of the Association and their guests on the afternoon of Friday the 8th of October, and it has been decided to mark the occasion by arranging a special exhibition of early printed Greek and Latin Classics in which the Library is so rich. Of each of the fifty authors whose works will figure in the Exhibition, it will be possible to show without a single exception the first printed edition. Whilst of the first printed Greek book the "Batrachomyomachia," and of the first printed edition of the "Disticha de moribus" of Dionysius Cato, we are able to exhibit the only known copies.

A brief descriptive catalogue of the exhibition will be prepared and printed for distribution to the guests on the occasion of their visit.

OPENING LECTURE OF THE SESSION.

On the following Monday, the 11th October, Professor E. K. Rand, of Harvard, one of the most distinguished of American Latinists, has consented to deliver a lecture in the conference room of the Library on "St. Martin of Tours and his Script," which will be illustrated by lantern pictures.

LIBRARY LECTURES.

The following six evening lectures have been arranged for the winter session, in continuation of the twenty-fifth series. Each lecture commences at 7.30 p.m.

Wednesday, 10th November, 1926. "Recent Developments in Old Testament Criticism." By A. S. Peake, M.A., D.D., etc., Rylands Professor of Biblical Exegesis in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 15th December, 1926. "Glass Chalices of the First Century." By J. Rendel Harris, M.A., Litt.D., LL.D., D.Theol. An actual example will be shown, and the lecture will be illustrated with lantern pictures.

Wednesday, 12th January, 1927. "The Country Haunts of Horace." By R. S. Conway, D.Litt., Litt.D., F.B.A., Hulme Professor of Latin in the University of Manchester. With lantern illustrations.

Wednesday, 10th February, 1927. "Shakespeare and the Arts." By C. H. Herford, M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A., Honorary Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 10th March, 1927. "Bismarck and England." By H. W. C. Davis, C.B.E., M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford.

Wednesday, 13th April, 1927. "Art and Nature." By S. Alexander, M.A., LL.D., D.Litt., F.B.A., Honorary Professor of Philosophy in the University of Manchester.

THE EXPORT OF HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS.

In the 19th Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts which has just made its appearance, attention is called to the harm done by the steadily increasing export of historical manuscripts to foreign countries, particularly the United States of America. On this point there has been considerable discussion in the press. The Commission recognises the impossibility of securing sums large enough to prevent this export by purchase, and makes no suggestion of legislation, like that adopted in some other countries, to prohibit or tax it. It endorses, however, the suggestion that has been made, that photographs might be taken of the manuscripts which for other than historical reasons fetch high prices. These might be sold, while the rest of the collection, with the few reproductions, might be retained intact at a reasonable price.

INTERNATIONAL LIBRARY CONGRESS AT PRAGUE.

An International Congress of Librarians and Bibliophiles has been arranged to take place in Prague, with the consent of the Czechoslovak Government, from the 28th of June to the 3rd of July.

The programme is a very ambitious one, covering among other subjects the following: the international exchange and amendment of conventions of the 15th March, 1886; the exchange of librarians of all catagories; the present crisis in the book market; the loan of rare objects belonging to libraries of different states; the photo mechanical reproduction of precious works in libraries for the use of scientific institutions; the question of bibliographical international catalogues and manuals.

The organization of an International Executive Committee of Associations of Librarians is to be proposed by M. Gabriel Henriot, President of the Association des Bibliothèques Français, supported by Mr. H. Milam, the Secretary of the American Library Association.

Any movement which has for its object, as this has : the co-ordination of the work of the various associations ; to keep them in permanent touch with each other ; to agree upon the dates of international conferences ; and the rotation of places at which such conferences should be held, has our cordial support.

We shall await with interest the report of the proceedings of the congress, at which so many subjects of international interest and importance were to be discussed.

The organizers of the congress are the Czechoslovak Library Association and seven other clubs and guilds of booksellers, publishers, bookbinders, bibliophiles, ex-librists, including librarians and their patrons.

JUBILEE OF THE AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.

The present year marks the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the American Library Association, which is to be celebrated in Atlantic City, the very city of its birth, from the 4th to the 9th of October.

It is said that "great institutions and great movements are of slow growth," and it may be true, in the case of the A.L.A., that in its early and struggling years growth was slow, but there must have been a steadily broadening conception regarding the far-reaching possibilities of the public library as a factor in popular education, side by side with a growing consciousness of the power of the association to influence that movement, to have brought about anything approaching the astonishing development which has characterised the history of the one and of the other, if we may judge from the illuminating figures that were given in a recent issue of the Association's "Bulletin."

In 1876, when the Association was formed, it had a membership of 55, to-day it has 8000 adherents. In 1876 there were 300 public libraries in the United States and Canada, to-day that number has grown to 6600. In 1876 the aggregate expenditure on public libraries was $518,000, to-day it stands at $37,000,000. This enormous increase in the number of public libraries, and in the accompanying increase of expenditure, is due almost exclusively to the

activity and influence of the Association, and of the long line of men and women of personality and vision, who have so wisely guided its affairs.

It will be the privilege of the writer, to take part in the commemoration, and to convey to the assembled members the congratulations of the Trustees and Governors of the John Rylands Library, of the Council of the Victoria University of Manchester, and of the British Library Association of which he has the honour to be President for the year 1926-27.

It is needless to say that the forthcoming conference will be the greatest in the history of the Association. It is to be not merely nor primarily a festive celebration for those librarians and trustees who can get to Atlantic City. Its significance will be measured, to reproduce the words of the circular announcement, by the degree to which 1926 can be made in every community a year of library achievement. It will strengthen the tie between the library and its patrons. It will make people everywhere appreciate the contribution of their own library to the life of the community, and to fifty years of library progress.

This anniversary is to be further signalized by the Carnegie Corporation, who have signified their intention of setting aside four million dollars for library purposes in the United States and Canada. Librarians everywhere have been appreciative of Mr. Carnegie's long continued interest and financial help in their projects; and it is naturally a source of satisfaction to the A.L.A. that the officers and trustees of the Corporation created by Mr. Carnegie have granted this magnificent sum to a cause for which he himself did so much.

We offer our congratulations to the members of the A.L.A. upon this well-deserved recognition of the services they have rendered, not alone to the public library movement, but to the community at large, through that avenue of service.

The President of the Association is Mr. Charles F. D. Belden, Librarian of the Boston Public Library, and the Secretary is Mr. Carl H. Milam. The Headquarters of the Association are at 86 E. Randolph Street, Chicago.

BRITISH LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

The annual conference of the [British] Library Association, will be held this year at Leeds, from the 6th to the 10th of September, by invitation of the Libraries' and Arts' Committee of the Leeds City Council. There will be papers and discussions relating to the Influence of the

Public Library in Civic Life, and other aspects of the work of our public libraries.

ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The following titles represent a selection of the works which have been added to the shelves of the library since the publication of our last issue, and will serve to indicate the character of the additions which are constantly being made.

ART, ARCHITECTURE AND BIBLIOGRAPHY: Spyridon and Sophronios Eustratiades, "Catalogue of the Greek MSS. in the Library of the Laura on Mount Sinai," 8vo; "Ars Asiatica: 7: Documents d'art chinois de la collection Oswald Siren, publiés avec préface de R. Koechlin," 4to; Michel (A.), "Histoire de l'Art: Tome 8: L'art en Europe et en Amérique au 19me siècle, et au début du 20me," 8vo; Symons (A. J. A.), "A bibliography of the works of writers and book-illustrators of the eighteen-nineties, with short biographies," 8vo; James (M. R.), "A descriptive catalogue of the MSS. in the Library of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge," 8vo; Northup (C. S.), "A, Register of bibliographies of the English language and literature," 8vo; Winkler (F.), "Die flamische Buchmalerei des 15 und 16 Jahrhunderts," 4to; "Peintures et gravures murales des cavernes paléolithiques: Les Combarelles aux Eyzies (Dordogne)," par L. Capitin, H. Breuil et D. Peyrony, 4to; Rivoira (G. T.), "Roman architecture and its principles of construction under the empire, with an appendix on the evolution of the dome up to the 17th century," 358 Illus., 4to; Maxwell (W. H.), "A bibliography of English law to 1650, including books dealing with that period printed between 1480-1925, 8vo; Johnson (A. F.), "The first century of printing at Basle," 8vo; Thomas (H.), "Typography of the Spanish 16th century," 8vo: Johnson (A. F.), "Italian 16th century printing," 8vo; Blochet (G.), "Les enluminaires des manuscrits orientaux, turcs, arabes, persans de la Bibliothèque Nationale," Folio; Dalton (O. M.), "East Christian Art: a study of the monuments," 69 plates, Folio; Peach (W.), "The masters of modern art," 8vo; Cornell (H.), "Biblia pauperum: 1 Die Handschriften ihr Inhalt und ihre Gruppierung; 2: Geschichte der Biblia pauperum," 4to; Krom (N. J.), "L'art Javanais dans les Musées de Hollande et de Java," 4to; Gardner (P.), "New chapters in Greek art," 8vo; Millar (E. G.), "English illuminated manuscripts from the 10th to the 13th

century," 100 plates, 4to; Sunyol (Gregori M. à), "Introduccio à la paleografia musical Gregoriana," Montserrat, 8vo; Meyer (W. J.), "Die franzosischen Drucker- und Verlegerzeichen des 15 Jahrhunderts," 8vo; Renouard (P.), "Les marques typographiques parisiennes des 15e et 16e siècles," 8vo; Venturi (A.), "Storia dell' arte Italiana: 9: La pittura del cinquecento," 8vo; "Specimens of books printed at Oxford with the types given to the University by John Fell," 4to; "The Portrait drawings of William Rothenstein, 1889-1925: an iconography by John Rothenstein, with preface by Max Beerbohm," 101 collotype plates, 4to; Omont (H.), "Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du 5me au 14e siècle," 130 facsimiles, 4to; Poole (Mrs. Lane), "Catalogue of portraits in the possession of the University, Colleges, and City of Oxford," 3 vols. 8vo; Lemoisne (P. A.), "Les xylographies du 14me et du 15me siècle au Cabinet des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Nationale" 5 vols. 4to; Brinkman's "Catalogus van Boeken, Plaat-en Kaartwerken die gedurende 1916 tot en met 1920 in Nederland . . . und Repertorium," 8vo; Grelly (L.), "Les primitifs Siennois," 58 planches, 4to; Yriarte y Marino Lecina (J. E. de), "Biblioteca de escretores de la Compania de Jesus pertinecientes a la antigua assistencia de España desde sus origines hasta . . . 1773," tome 1 (A.-B.) 8vo; Binyon (L.), "The followers of William Blake: Edward Calvert, Samuel Palmer, George Richmond, and their circle," Folio; "Bibliographie Alsacienne," tome 2 (1921-1924), 8vo; Hobson (G. P.), "Monographs on binding: Maioli, Canevari, and others," 60 plates, 4to; Binyon (L.) "The engraved designs of William Blake," 80 plates, Folio; Schreiber (W. L.), "Handbuch der Holz und Metallschnitte des 15 Jahrhunderts"; new enlarged edition to be completed in 6 vols., 8vo; Kunstle (Karl), "Ikonographie der Heiligen," 284 Bildern, 4to; Siren (Oswald), "The Imperial palaces of Peking," 274 plates, 3 vols., 4to; Sugden (A. V.) and Edmondson (L.), "A history of English wallpaper, 1509-1914," 4to.

HISTORY AND ARCHÆOLOGY: Lowther (J. W.), "Viscount Ullswater: a Speaker's commentaries," 2 vols., 8vo; "Libro d'oro della nobilià Italiana," vols. 5 and 6, 1920-1925; Blustein (G.), "Storia degli Ebrei in Roma del il seolo avanti Cristo con appendice di crecenzio del monte," 8vo; Newton (Lady), "Lyme Letters,

1660-1760," 8vo; Fairley (J. A.), "Lauriston Castle: the estate and its owners," 8vo; Riley (E. B.), "Among the Papuan head-hunters," 8vo; "Victoria County History of Buckinghamshire," vol. 3, 8vo; Roth (C.), "The last Florentine Republic," 8vo; Budge (Sir E. A. W.), "The rise and progress of Assyriology," 8vo; Norton (E. F.) and others, "The fight for Mount Everest, 1924," 8vo; Coulton (G. C.), "The mediæval village," 8vo; O'Connor (Sir James), "History of Ireland, 1798-1924," 2 vols., 8vo; Ibn Khaldoun, "Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties Musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale Traduite de l'Arabe par le Baron de Slane," 5 vols., 8vo; Salmon (L. M.), "The newspaper and the historian," 8vo; Gardiner (E. N.), "Olympia: its history and remains," 4to; Read (Conyers), "Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the policy of Queen Elizabeth," 3 vols., 8vo; "Inventory of the Ancient Monuments of Pembroke," 4to; "Die Kultur der Abtei Reichenau Erinnerungeschrift zur zwoelfhundertsten Wiederkehr des Gruendungsjahres des Inselklosters, 724-1924," 2 vols., 4to; Harvey (G. E.), "History of Burma, from the earliest times to 1824, the beginning of the English conquest," 8vo; Durham (M. E.), "The Serajevo Crime," 8vo; "The Pinchbeck Register (Register of the Abbey of St. Edmunds from the MS. in the Cambridge Public Library), Edited by Lord Francis Hervey," 8vo; Coupland (R.), "The Quebec Act: a study in statesmanship," 8vo; Home (G.), "Roman London: the capital of the Roman Province of Britain," 8vo; Peake (Harold), "The English Village: the origin and decay of its community; an anthropological interpretation," 8vo; Major (A. F.) and Burrow (E. J.), "The mystery of Wansdyke: an earthwork in Somerset," 8vo; Pao Chao Hsieh, "The government of China, 1644-1911," 8vo; Willoughby (W. W.), "Opium as an international problem: the Geneva Conference," 8vo; Nakamo (T.), "The ordinance power of the Japanese Emperor," 8vo; Pepys (Samuel), "Private correspondence and miscellaneous papers, 1679-1703 in the possession of J. Pepys Cockerell, edited by J. R. Tanner," 2 vols., 8vo; "Die Weltkarte des Pierre Desceliers von 1553. Im Auftrage der Geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien, herausgegeben von E. Oberhummer," Folio; White (H. S.), "Willard Fiske, life and correspondence: a biographical study," 8vo; Wheeler (R. E. M.), "Prehistoric and Roman Wales," 8vo; Budge (Sir E. A. W.),

"The Mummy. . . . Second revised and enlarged edition," 8vo; Curzon of Kedleston (Marquis), "Bodiam Castle, Sussex: a historical and descriptive survey," 8vo; Gann (Thomas), "Mystery cities of British Honduras," 8vo; Smith (W. C.), "The Ao Naga Tribe of Assam: a study in ethnology and sociology," 8vo; Troeltsch (E.), "Spektator-Briefe Aufsätze über die deutsche Revolution und die Weltpolitik, 1918-1922," 8vo; Iorga (N.), "Histoire des états Balcaniques jusqu'a, 1924," 8vo; Snape (R. H.), "English monastic finances in the Middle Ages," 8vo; Cartwright (J.), "Baldasarre Castiglione, the perfect courtier, his life and letters, 1478-1529," London, 1908, 2 vols.; Macdonald (A. J.), "Lanfranc: a study of his life work and writing," 8vo; Ramsay (Sir J.), "Revenue of the Kings of England, 1066-1399," 2 vols., 8vo; Doren (Rombaut van), "Etude sur l'influence musicale de l'abbaye de Saint Gall, 8e au 11e siècle," 8vo; Morgan (J. de), "La préhistoire orientale; tome 1: Generalités," 8vo; Williamson (J. A.), "The Caribbee Islands under the proprietary portents," 8vo; Murray (Sir H.), "Papua of to-day," 8vo; Holmes (J. H.), "Way back in Papua," 8vo; Ricci (C.), "Beatrice Cenci, translated by M. Bishop and H. L. Stuart," 2 vols., 8vo; Kluitschewskij (W.), "Geschichte Russlands Hgbn. von F. Braun und R. von Walter," 4 vols., 8vo; Schneider (F.), "Rom und Romgedanke im Mittelalter: die geistigen Grundlagen der Renaissance," 8vo; "Les Bouches du Rhone: encyclopédie départmentale publiée sous la direction de P. Masson, 13 vols., 8vo (In progress); "Collectanea topographica et genealogica," London, 1834-1843, 8 vols., 8vo; Labande (L. H.), "Le palais des papas et les monuments d'Avignon au 14e siècle," 2 vols., 4to; "The Parliamentary and Constitutional History of England . . . from the earliest times to the dissolution of the Parliament in 1660," London, 1751-1761, 24 vols., 8vo; "The Chronicles of the East India Company trading to China, 1653-1834, by Hosea Ballon Morse, 4 vols., 8vo; Nau (Claude), "The history of Mary Stuart from the murder of Riccio until her flight to England," 1883, 8vo; Poole (R. L.), "Chronicles and annals: a brief outline of their origin and growth," 8vo; Darley (H.), "Slaves and ivory: a record of adventure and exploration in the unknown Sudan, and among the Abyssinian slave raiders," 8vo; Tritton (A. S.), "The rise of the Imams of Sanaa," 8vo; "Bulletino dell' Istituto Storico Italiano,"

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MOLIÈRE AND LIFE.[1]

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I.

AT the conclusion of Plato's *Symposium*, the reporter of the dialogue says that when he was awakened towards day-break by the crowing of cocks he found the rest of the company asleep or departed, but Socrates and Agathon, the tragic poet, and Aristophanes were still awake and drinking, and Socrates was discoursing and was compelling the other two to acknowledge that the genius of comedy was the same as that of tragedy, and that the true artist in tragedy was an artist in comedy also. Socrates was not the man to shrink from a paradox, and the assent of the other two must not be pressed, for the reporter says they were drowsy and did not quite follow the argument. It is greatly to be regretted that Plato has not preserved Socrates' arguments in some other form. We may be sure they were delightful and full of good sense and subtlety. Socrates had before him the practice of the tragic poets in winding up the trilogy of tragedies with a satiric play ; if he had been living in the seventeenth century he could have pointed to Shakespeare and Racine and Corneille, and to the last with peculiar relevance for our subject. For although *Le Menteur* hardly rises above the level of a comedy of incident and errors, Molière himself has said, that if it had not been for this comedy he himself might have written his lighter comedies but would not have risen to the height of the serious comedy of *Le Tartuffe* and Alceste. Possibly Socrates was influenced unconsciously by the presence both in the tragedy and the comedy of his time of the chorus which in some fashion represents the grave

[1] A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, 14th April, 1926.

opinion of the public and of life. For there is reason to believe that the chorus or its equivalent enters implicitly or explicitly (that is in the person of some character or characters) into the very structure of comedy. At any rate in the comedy of Molière this is always so. On the other hand, the chorus is accidental to tragedy in its structure. From being originally a participant it becomes a commentary on the real participants and then disappears.[1] Now Socrates impressed by the habit of his time may have thought that both forms of the drama, sharing in so important a feature, were in essentials the same or had the same genius. His arguments would have been subtler and in appearance more profound. Yet perhaps it is here that the real difference of tragedy and comedy may be found, that in the one the judgment on the persons is absent or falls to the spectator, in the other it is in the structure of the play.

Socrates, while he said that the true tragic writer was also an artist in comedy, did not lay down the converse proposition that the true comic writer is also an artist in tragedy. Molière, at least, if he sometimes seems to skirt the borders of tragedy, is never really tragic. We have to be on our guard against reading into him feelings different from his intention or inspired by situations which are more seriously regarded at times different from his. I know one sensitive person who cannot read *George Dandin* because of sympathy with the hero in his cruel deceptions. Yet he is too undignified in himself to be a tragic character—"vous l'avez voulu, George Dandin": the helpless resignation of a foolish man; and we must confess that Molière and his audience were accustomed to regard conjugal infidelity with levity when it did not touch themselves, and that the heartless wife in the play is meant to and does emerge triumphant. Our sympathy with the nobler side of Alceste's character may incline us to weep with him rather than laugh at him; but there is no doubt of the intention of the play. Molière comes nearest to tragedy in *Le Festin de Pierre*. Yet the fate which overtakes Don Juan may give us a thrill of horror but is too melodramatic to be tragic. In a tragedy the vengeance of insulted right would not be left to the strange machinery of an animated block; the just heavens would have embodied their vital presence in the person of some character of the play; whereas Done Elvira,

[1] C. E. Vaughan in *Types of Tragic Drama* sees it represented in later tragedy in the lyric element of the speakers.

who warns Juan of his doom, finds no more tragic solution of the conflict than to retire repentant into a convent. True to his comic inspiration, Molière, on the contrary, leaves us with the great exclamation of the valet bewailing the loss of his wages. Once, indeed, Molière tried his hand not at tragedy but at an heroic play, *Don Garcie de Navarre*. But he had the good sense to recognise that he was forcing his natural vein, and made the best use possible of his failure by taking passages from the tediously jealous harangues of Don Garcie before his serious and constant mistress, and inserting them into the worthier setting of Alceste's manlier, if still unreasonable, protests against the levities of Célimène.

In order to test the paradox of Socrates by a concrete instance let us ask why *Le Misanthrope* is a comedy and *Timon of Athens* a tragedy. Of the justice of the designations there is no doubt. Alceste upon the stage is laughable and meant to be so. *Timon*, which as a tragedy is not for a moment comparable in artistic merit with *Le Misanthrope*, and is indeed a poor tragedy and only in part, it is said, the work of Shakespeare, is a tragedy. They are worth comparing because in both the subject matter is the same, the turning of what is essentially a noble nature into misanthropy. In both, the hero is ennobled by passion and disfigured by foolishness; in both the issue is the rejection of the world. Here the likeness ends. The differences arise with the comic or the tragic development respectively.

The passion of Alceste lies in his sincerity and dislike of shows. The man who prizes the rude lyric "Si le roi m'avait donné" in spite of its archaic style and its poor rhyme, because it portrays a heart-felt passion may or may not have been a good literary critic (he was surely a good one);[1] but at least he was a man of noble disposition. Timon

[1] Si le roi m'avait donné
Paris, sa grand' ville,
Et qu'il me fallût quitter
L'amour de ma mie,
Je dirais au roi Henri:
Reprenez votre Paris;
J'aime mieux ma mie, ô gue
J'aime mieux ma mie.

Le rime n'est pas riche, et le style en est vieux;
Mais ne voyez-vous pas que cela vaut bien mieux
Que ces colifichets dont le bon sens murmure,
Et que la passion parle là toute pure?

is mere good nature, till ingratitude makes him flame up into hatred; adversity brings out the man; he ceases to be the genial fribble, under which his real force was disguised. "The old Timon with his noble heart," says Tennyson, "that strongly loathing greatly broke"—though the words are perhaps exaggerated. Alceste has his passion within control. Even when he is most agitated by hatred of conventional lies, he remains of the world which practises them. In the great scene with Oronte he is the perfect gentleman—"Je ne dis pas icela." Only when provoked beyond bearing does he tell Oronte flatly and coarsely that his sonnet is worthless. Timon becomes hatred personified, through revulsion from his own good nature. The difference of their fates flows from the difference in their faults. Alceste s foolish through the extravagance of his expectations. Being a large and not a mean character, he unreasonably asks of human nature more than human nature can bear, and the high pitch and tension of his sincerity pervades him so that comic as he is he is one of the really concrete and organic types of personality; like Tartuffe in this respect and unlike Harpagon in *L'Avare* perhaps, and certainly Argan in *Le Malade Imaginaire*. That is why, or one reason why, *Le Misanthrope* is so great a comedy and Alceste a comic hero. His fault is not tragic for it is the basis of his character. Timon's fault is not so much extravagance of judgment as foolish and innocent confidence in men. When the unthinking spendthrift discovers that he has placed his trust in summer friends he recognises the tragic fault (the ἁμαρτία) and his trust is converted into passionate hatred. Were he a more organic person, were he less a mere prey to the revulsion of feeling and the desire to give it vent, he would be more of a tragic figure than he is.

All the same we can in the indifferent tragedy trace all those elements which have been discovered to lie at the basis of tragedy by Aristotle and Hegel, and by Mr. Andrew Bradley in our day. There is the tragic fault into which he slips out of the blind simplicity of his inexperience of mankind. And the play may be said to exhibit within this noble and serious person, turned nobly serious by the issue of his defect, the conflict in which over-weening trustfulness is shattered against the real self-seekingness of mankind, and he perishes in the conflict. And at the end Alcibiades enters to pronounce like Fortinbras in *Hamlet* the words which reconcile his death with over-ruling

providence. These features do not stand out so clearly here as they do in *Lear*, or *Othello*, or *Hamlet;* but they can be discerned in spite of the imperfections of the play.

In *Le Misanthrope*, on the other hand, there is indeed a clash or conflict between the high-strung demands of Alceste and the unbending reasonableness of the social standard. But the clash is not so much a clash as a contrast; and it can be so reduced in scale, and become comic, because the conventional judgment which laughs at Alceste for his extravagance and is embodied in the persons of Philinte and Éliante and even, in her way, of the gay and bewitching and entirely reasonable coquette Célimène who is the author of all Alceste's woes—because this conventional standard is not an elemental force in things and human affairs, but rather a matter of sweet reasonableness and moderate expectation, in which all men can settle down as to a minimum. Thus Timon's trust in human nature comes into conflict not with what we may reasonably expect of men in society, but with self-regarding human nature and the end is the destruction of Timon in the struggle. Alceste's revolt against society is not the simple failing of a sincere and noble nature, but a crude misapprehension on his part of the conditions under which society can be carried on. There wants in such a situation the seriousness of issue which in tragedy is always raised. Of the tragic poet it is true what Mr. Yeats says of himself with a different application:

> "The elemental beings go,
> About my table to and fro."

The public standard against which Alceste rebels has not the high solemnity of a great power like jealousy, or, to take again the Hegelian case of the *Antigone*, loyalty to the state, or as in *Hamlet*, devotion to a father's memory. We are not torn in our sympathies between the sincerity of Alceste's passion for unbridled truth and our acceptance of current opinion. Conventional standards do not seem to us to deserve all that pother, and the gravity of tragedy is consequently replaced by light-hearted observation of how the revolter goes under.

It will be urged that Alceste is passionately in love, and there is tragedy in the sacrifice of his love to his sincerity; and it is true that the conflict betrays a noble nature and excites our sympathy, and, if Alceste were different, contains a tragic possibility. The conditions of

real tragedy are however wanting, the contention between vital elements in human nature. For Alceste's sincerity is vitiated by its unreasonableness, which it is the very gist of the comedy to expose; it has not the "high seriousness" of Othello's simple trust and honour, poisoned by a friend with suspicion ("it is the cause, it is the cause"). The sacrifice of his love has not the inevitableness of the tragic calamity, nor is the pity it excites a "cleansing" pity; it does but make the comedy a greater and higher comedy.

In his recent work on Psychology Mr. McDougall has suggested that laughter is a preservative against excess of sympathy which would be exhausting. In this play we take the side of Philinte and Éliante, and even Célimène, and laugh in order not to sympathise with the honest sufferings of Alceste. Those who, feeling so strongly his essential but misguided goodness, weep for him fail to take the point of view of the comic poet and to laugh at the somewhat trivial defiance of an accepted code or anything firmly enough based on common practice to claim reasonable recognition: much as we laugh at Beatrice and Benedict for their playful refusal to acknowledge the claims of their attraction for each other. Hence Alceste, for all his enthusiastic rebellion against the insincerities of polite society, is no grave champion of virtue but a light challenger of the claims of moderation and reason. Noble as he is, he is surrounded with an aroma of triviality. In the end his indignation hurries him into his rupture with the world:

> Trahi de toutes parts, accablé d'injustices,
> Je vais sortir d'un gouffre où triomphent les vices;
> Et chercher sur la terre un endroit écarté
> Où d'être homme d'honneur on ait la liberté.

The issue is too intense for the occasion. Significantly enough it is suggested that his resolution may not be unshakeable. The comedy ends, not like a tragedy with the hero's overwhelming, but with the hope that after all he may acquiesce:

> Allons, madame [says Philinte to Éliante] allons employer toute chose
> Pour rompre le dessein que son cœur se propose.

I do not say that comedy is in the right to ridicule these generous rebellions against good sense and moderation. Heaven forbid that indignation at the insincerities of our accommodated social intercourse

should cease. Rather than that, let our Alcestes claim the liberty of saying no word but unvarnished truth, at whatever risk of hurting the feelings of others; or, if they are unfortunate enough to love in their own despite a Célimène who being young and full of the wine of life declines to abandon all society in order to devote herself to her lover's whims and bury herself in hiding with him from the world whose injustice he cannot endure, let them endure their discomfiture. The spirit of revolt is so precious that these sacrifices may be worth while. Yet comedy may still have something to say in its defence. It ridicules in Alceste not his sincerity but his petulance. It raises no laugh at the revolt against serious evils by the valiant champions of new ideals whose aim is to reform: your Francis of Assisi who, bred in luxury and the life of pleasure, gives his cloak to the beggar and embraces poverty. Comedy laughs at Alceste for rejecting what it is not reasonable or worth while to decline for the sake of something which it is not reasonable or worth while to secure. The standard from which it measures its victims may be itself a low one, may express no more than a minimum of requirement, may take human nature too lightly. But it can at least urge for itself that these standards are a solid achievement of good sense and at least something which it is worth while to conserve till a better is found.

The rights of comedy are more palpable when the sin against public use and wont is not the generous unreasonableness of Alceste, but the exaggerations of valuable elements of life into hypocrisy. When it ridicules the pretences of the false *dévot* it is still more obviously establishing the claims of moderation and good sense. It includes in its subjects (besides the Alcestes), the Tartuffes, and even as in the *Femmes Savantes* the supposed pretenders to a cultivation believed to be beyond their sphere, even when they do not, as in this play, carry their pretensions to the absurdity of refining their language into a ridiculous precision.

I cannot speak of comedy in general or the comic spirit. For that I must send you to Meredith's great *Essay on Comedy and the uses of the Comic Spirit*. But of Molière's comedy it is true that always the part of chorus is played by common sense, or sound sense, current in the cultivated opinion of the time. The comic motive lies in the contrast of certain characters which deviate from this standard with the others which represent it. Such good sense is not merely good

taste but right and goodness as they are conceived at the time in the general current of healthy life. Accordingly Mr. Bergson, who founds himself in the main upon Molière, declares in his book upon Laughter (*Le Rire*) that the comic character is one-sided and presents the appearance of something mechanical, something which does not share in the full tide of life. The point is well taken, for the exaggeration, which takes the hero out of the region of full good sense, whether as in Alceste it is an offence against good judgment merely, or as in Tartuffe against the true and balanced spirit of religious devotion, destroys the equilibrium of life. The criticism is, however, not perfectly good, if it implies that the comic personage is not in himself a personality organised completely by his controlling impulse. Such a view would not hold of Alceste, who is a very living person; it may be true of Harpagon or Argan, but it is certainly not of Tartuffe, who is a thorough-paced and vital rascal, who by a kind of fine art can harmonise his pretended exaltation of sentiment with very human sentiments of sensuality and vindictive love of gain. The great comic characters are in fact comic in proportion as they are also whole men, with not so much a mechanised life as a twisted one. Was there ever a more living man than Falstaff himself, who was perhaps beyond the reach even of Molière; whose want of principle is idealised into a new irresponsible kind of life, that is never troubled by current opinion and does not so much defy it as rather is innocent of it; who in no sense is like Satan who says "evil be thou my good," but rather enjoys a merry and delighted obliteration of moral distinctions? The shock with common sense culminates in his case with his repudiation by the prince turned king, in whom indeed common sense in its harder and more brutal form is represented.

In a paper in the *Cornhill* for April, 1925, on "The Ladies of Molière," to which I owe much, my friend Mrs. MacCunn dwelt on the good sense of Molière's women, and wisely compared them, Léonor and Henriette and Éliante and the rest, with the heroines of Jane Austen, with Jane Bennet, Eleanor Dashwood and Fanny Price. It is not only the Philintes and Chrysales who play the foil to the comic personages, but the wise coquettes like Célimène, the modest and gracious and dutiful Henriette of the *Femmes Savantes*, the Léonor of the *École des Maris* and the enchanting Dorines and Nicoles.

Meredith has dwelt on the equality of the sexes in Molière's plays, not equality of privilege but equal opportunity as members of society in their respective spheres. He even regards such equality as the true soil for the growth of pure comedy. "Where women are on the road to an equal footing with men, in attainments and in liberty—in what they have won for themselves, and what has been granted them by a fair civilisation—there, and only, waiting to be translated from life to the stage, or the novel, or the poem, pure Comedy flourishes, and is, as it would help them to be, the sweetest of diversions, the wisest of delightful companions." Such an audience Molière found not so much in the society of the Court of Louis XIV as in the bourgeoisie of Paris, "sufficiently quick-witted and enlightened by education to welcome great works like *Le Tartuffe*, *Les Femmes Savantes* and *Le Misanthrope*, works that were perilous ventures on the popular intelligence, big vessels to launch on streams running to shallows." And again, "Cultivated men and women, who do not skim the cream of life, and are attached to the duties, yet escape the harsher blows, make acute and balanced observers. Molière is their poet." Meredith is doubtless right in the part which he assigns to women in the world comedy. "The man seeks freedom," says the princess in Goethe's *Tasso*, "the woman observance"—*Nach Freiheit strebt der Mann, das Weib nach Sitte.* Whatever may be thought of that antithesis, it is at least true that the equal participation of women with men secures the atmosphere of ordered custom, which supplies the standard of well-regulated judgment against which comedy in its Molièresque example sets out the laughable follies or extravagances of mankind.

II.

When I speak in the title of this paper of Molière and life, I mean by Molière not the man himself in his recorded life but in his plays. What we know of his life outside the history of his plays is scanty: his few years of study as a young man at the Lycée, Collège de Clermont; and in particular the conversations he had with and the lessons he had from the Epicurean or materialist philosopher Gassendi (Molière once began a translation of Lucretius which unfortunately is lost); the years of Bohemian experience when he was touring the provinces before he came to Paris; the somewhat

libertine life he then led; while all the while he was equipping himself in knowledge of the stage and of human nature for the extraordinary facility and the more precious wisdom of his later years; his tenderness to his actors and the dependents of his theatre, which made him persist in spite of his physical weakness in holding his performance lest they should lose their profits or their wages; his final word as an actor when as the bachelor in medicine in *Le Malade Imaginaire* he engages to observe the statutes of the faculty—*juro*, and his hugger-mugger burial at night because of the prejudices of the Archbishop of Paris against him as a reputed infidel. These things and the happy incidents of his friendships with Boileau and others are irrelevant to the great artist. Not even the most poignant incident of his life, his jealousy of and passionate love for his wife whom apparently there is no good ground to acquit of the infidelity with which he and the world credited her; not even this, though it affects us so deeply in reading him, is relevant except as supplying part of his experience of life. There is hardly anything more touching than the report which Saint-Beuve[1] quotes of Molière's confession to his friend Chapelle in the garden at Auteuil of how knowing the unworthiness of his passion for the unfaithful Armande he was incapable of resisting it. Yet it is precisely not the legitimacy of the passion of the jealous husband which he pourtrays in the comedies, from the *Cocu Imaginaire* onwards, but the folly of jealousy and the constant fear of a fate regarded as only too probable and the commonest subject of comedy, for which he had no need to go to his own life and which perhaps a wise man would accept with resignation. Consider the diatribe against jealousy of Done Elvire, the mistress of Don Garcie, in her conversation with Élise (Act I, sc. I.).

> Partout la jalousie est un monstre odieux:
> Rien n'en peut adoucir les traits injurieux;
> Et, plus l'amour est cher qui lui donne naissance,
> Plus on doit ressentir les coups de cette offence.

The voice of good sense. In *Les Fâcheux* Eraste is called upon as arbiter between Oronte and Climène who champion respectively the unsuspicious and the jealous lover—and wishing to please both parties and be released from their detention of him, decides

> Le jaloux aime plus, et l'autre bien mieux. (Act II, sc. IV.)

[1] *Portraits Littéraires*, vol. ii. pp. 41, *sqq.* (Paris).

A poet's life may supply him with all manner of material for his art, but it is not necessary to suppose that his works are a transcript of himself. The real Molière writhed under conjugal infidelity; the dramatist mocks it. There is truth in Browning's retort to Wordsworth's saying of the sonnet: "with this same key Shakespeare unlocked his heart." "Did Shakespeare? If so the less Shakespeare he." What the artist puts of himself into his work is not always the emotions which he shares with his personages but at most the emotion of the dramatic situation which he describes; and this goes almost without saying. With this proviso, it is safe to identify Molière with the standard which laughs at his comic personages. Nor was it a particularly high standard. It was no more than the average standard of his time. But it was both serious and reasonable, according to those lights. He had no passion for virtue but he approved virtue. He was certainly not deeply religious, was probably enough touched with free thinking; as the story goes of what he said returning on a boat on the Seine from the house at Auteuil. Chapelle was maintaining the doctrine of atoms; Molière denied it but added, "Passe pour la morale!"[1] But he hated pretence and he defends seemliness and wisdom and the good conduct of life, with all liberty for gaiety in the process. False devotion and the pretentiousness of the doctors he exposed, the first without mercy, the other laughingly and good-humouredly, though apparently the doctors did not take it so.

Of one thing we may be certain about Molière the man because it is attested by the poems themselves. His superabundant gaiety and humour and wit were the overflow of a profound and passionate mind trained into wisdom by experience and observation. His nickname of the *Contemplateur* was given him from his habit of watching people in barbers' shops, and milliners' shops, and elsewhere; but his observation was the intuition of a great mind. Perhaps, whatever may be true of wit, which is more the effect of intellectual skill, there has been no great humour which has not its roots in insight; it has been the outcome, where it has not been the cloak, of gravity and wisdom. The fool in *King Lear* is not mere comic relief to the sorrows of his master; he is continuous with them, and understands what he mocks. Consider as the first examples that occur the fatuity

[1] *Portraits Littéraires*, ii., p. 45.

of the famous *le pauvre homme!* with which Orgon greets the recitals of Tartuffe's austerities. How funny it is but how true and sincere. Or Vadius's prefatory condemnation of the itch of authors to read their own productions; followed by his introduction of his own verses on young lovers.

Le défaut des auteurs, dans leurs productions,
C'est d'en tyranniser les conversations,
D'être au Palais, au Cours, aux ruelles, aux tables,
De leurs vers fatigants lecteurs infatigables.
Pour moi, je ne vois rien de plus sot, à mon sens,
Q'un auteur qui partout va gueuser des encens,
Qui, des premiers venus saisissant les oreilles,
En fait le plus souvent le martyr de ses veilles.
On ne m'a jamais vu ce fol entêtement;
Et d'un Grec là-dessus je suis le sentiment,
Qui, par un dogme exprès, défend à tous ses sages
L'indigne empressement de lire leurs ouvrages.
Voici de petits vers pour de jeunes amants,
Sur quoi je voudrais avoir vos sentiments.

In the *Femmes Savantes* a delightful instance occurs at the dénouement. Ariste, his brother, and his charming and reasonable daughter Henriette, have persuaded Chrysale to play the man in his house and resist his wife Philaminte's proposal to marry Henriette to the poetaster. Chrysale is the embodiment of good sense and reason, though he has limited ideas of the function of women in society, according to our recent views though not according to the views of the seventeenth century. Unfortunately, as Henriette says,

Il a reçu du ciel certaine bonté d'âme
Qui le soumet d'abord à ce que veut sa femme.

His resolution, however, has been stiffened and he insists that Clitandre and not Trissotin shall marry Henriette. Yet when the moment arrives for the formal decision, Philaminte terrorises him; and sheepishly he proposes the compromise that Clitandre, who had given up the *précieuse* sister Armande because of her affected prudery, and devoted himself to her younger and unaffected sister, should still take Armande and Trissotin have Henriette. "Hé! mon père!" says Henriette. "He! monsieur!" says Clitandre. And Ariste cuts the knot by his fictitious news of Chrysale's ruin, at which Trissotin retires from his suit.

Once more let me cite one of the confidential maids—Lisette, in

L'École des Maris, who joins Leonor in protesting to Sganarelle against his treatment of Isabelle by locking her up from the approach of other men to keep her for himself.

> En effet tous ces soins sont des choses infâmes.
> Sommes nous chez les Turcs, pour renfermer les femmes?
> Car on dit qu'on les tient esclaves en ce lieu,
> Et que c'est pour cela qu'ils sont maudits de Dieu.

Perhaps the stately measure of the Alexandrines would hardly have permitted to Molière the conceits in which Shakespeare abounded in his younger days, and Meredith to the end of his days. In any case there is no effort after effect. As Meredith himself observes, the wit itself and the humour flow naturally, without emphasis, without any appearance of dexterity. And the reason is the artist's immersion in his subject and his conception of his characters as invested with life. Molière's sympathy with life is the insight of a very wise man. And the very effortless flow of his speech makes it difficult to select instances of particularly glaring wit or humour. The speech is pointed but it is the bubbling over of a personality and the comedy lies in the situations. Just so in real life, humour is so elusive because its expression is found in implications unexpressed, in lights and shades which shift as the speaker proceeds and partly conceal and partly reveal the mind engaged.

In the *Critique de L'École des Femmes*, itself an excellent comedy where Dorante plays the part of good sense and moderation, we have at once one of the best pieces of literary criticism ever written and the best exposition of Molière's attitude. The original play which it defends was a delightful exhibition of the triumph of human nature in the persons of Agnès and her lover over the silly old man (or comparatively old man) her guardian who had brought her up in complete ignorance to be the better wife for himself. Out of the very situation arose incidents which offended the purists in morals or language. Dorante, who is as it were a Philinte turned into a literary critic, urges in the first place that the object of a comedy is to please : " Je voudrais bien savoir si la grande règle de toutes les règles n'est pas de plaire, et si une pièce qui a attrapé son but n'a pas suivi un bon chemin " ; and of the rules of art themselves he has just said what no æsthetic doctrine can improve upon : " Il semble, à vous ouir parler, que ces règles de l'art soient les plus grands mystères du monde ;

et cependant ce ne sont que quelques observations aisées, que le bon sens a faites sur ce qui peut ôter le plaisir que l'on prend à ces sortes de poêmes ; et le même bon sens qui a fait autrefois ces observations les fait aisément tous les jours, sans le secours d'Horace ou d'Aristote." Elsewhere he lays down this golden judgment on the right way of judging a play—"la bonne façon de juger, qui est de se laisser prendre aux choses, et de n'avoir ni prévention aveugle, ni complaisance affectée, ni délicatesse ridicule." "Se laisser prendre aux choses"—there is the secret of your Shakespeares and your Molières and all great writers and artists, but particularly great dramatists. Comedy has its special difficulties as compared with serious pieces. "En un mot dans les pièces sérieuses il suffit pour n'être point blâmé, de dire des choses qui soient de bon sens et bien écrites ; mais ce n'est pas assez dans les autres, il y faut plaisanter ; et c'est une étrange entreprise que celle de faire rire les honnêtes gens." Always good sense and the appeal is to decent men, les honnêtes gens. And for the description of the measure by which they judge I will cite from the speech of Philinte at the beginning of *Le Misanthrope*.

Mon Dieu! des mœurs du temps mettons nous moins en peine,
Et faisons un peu grâce à la nature humaine ;
Ne l'examinons point dans la grande rigueur,
Et voyons ses défauts avec quelque douceur,
Il faut parmi le monde, une vertu traitable ;
A force de sagesse, on peut être blamable ;
La parfaite raison fuit toute extrémité,
Et veut que l'on soit sage avec sobriété.
Cette grande rigueur des vertus des vieux âges
Heurte trop notre siècle et les communs usages ;
Elle veut aux mortels trop de perfection :
Il faut flêchir aux temps sans obstination ;
Et c'est une folie à nulle autre seconde,
De vouloir se mêler de corriger le monde.
J'observe, comme vous, cent choses tous les jours,
Qui pourraient mieux aller, prenant un autre cours ;
Mais, quoiqu'à chaque pas je puisse voir paraître,
En courroux comme vous, on ne me voit pas être :
Je prends tout doucement les hommes comme ils sont ;
J'accoutume mon âme à souffrir ce qu'ils font,
Et je crois qu'à la cour, de même qu'à la ville,
Mon phlegme est philosophe autant que votre bile.[1]

[1] Compare Ariste in Sc. I. of *L'École des Maris*.

Not a great ideal, as we observe, but sound and sweet. Comedy does not deal with great ideals, nor with grand passions. But it rests on the sound basis of usage established by serious men for the daily food of mankind. Perhaps in the passage quoted above from Dorante, Molière in drawing so marked a distinction between plays written to make the audience laugh (which was undoubtedly his purpose in the honest exercise of his craft, as much as Shakespeare thought mainly or only of pleasing in legitimate ways) is hardly conscious of the serious foundation of comedy and certainly does not do justice to it. On which subject enough for my purpose has been said above. It is in the long run only the serious nature which can amuse by legitimate means, and amuse eternally like Molière.

Two things follow from the standard which Molière works to. The first I half fear to mention lest it should be thought that I fancy art is under prudish obligations to morals. It is that Molière's comedy is always clean. Coarse enough he can be in the plain-spoken fashion of his time, calling a spade a spade. But he is never gross or inflammatory. (Our own time, just because it is less plain-spoken, conceals a greater peril or rather has a harder artistic problem to solve.) The reticence of the "honnêtes gens" follows the author who writes for them; and it is only prudes who could blush at the so-called indelicacies of the *École des Femmes*. On the stage, even the rollicking licence of speech of *Le Médecin malgré lui* disappears under the cloud of honest laughter. The other feature is that he is never venomous. Not even Tartuffe is drawn venomously, though indignation mixes with the laughter he provokes. Molière is a good fighter and strikes manfully, but though he mocks and as a comedian therefore falls short of the ideal of his scientific contemporary Spinoza, like Spinoza he does not despise. Only, being a comic writer and not a philosopher, the honest emotions of the "honnêtes gens" are reflected in his comedy. He never wearies of exposing the doctors; but it is their formalism and pretentiousness and traditionalism or professionalism at which he laughs. They seem not to have been altogether blameless. Locke in his diary describes a graduation scene in the medical faculty at Montpellier, where he was staying, in words of which the famous induction of the bachelor of medicine in *Le Malade Imaginaire* is hardly a caricature, and Molière may in his early days in the South have witnessed such a ceremony. But there is no trace

in Molière of the venom which animates Mr. Shaw in our own days. Molière is content to laugh. Physiology was only beginning in his day, which saw the researches of Harvey, and medicine has now become a science. Yet possibly even now there would be honest physicians who would admit that their profession is in some degree open to the laughter of Molière. After all the doctors enter only into his farces, even the *Malade* is hardly more than half comedy, half farce. Molière did not believe that doctors were of much use. But whether the pitiful story is true that they refused to attend him in his last illness and revenged themselves, I do not know.

III.

The doctors take us into the world of Molière's farces, which no lover of Molière dare pass by without some brief mention. In his excellent work *Molière* (2 vols., Paris, 1908) Mr. Eugène Rigal has shown how the true comedy of Molière grew out of his farce. His early comedies, *L'Etourdi* and *Le Depit Amoureux*, were imitations of the current Italian or Spanish types of comedy of intrigue, and incident, though the second of the two is relieved by the charming scene of lovers' misunderstanding to which he was to revert in *Le Tartuffe* and the *Bourgeois*. He found himself and prepared for his mission of serious comedy by "leaving clever and complicated intrigue and adopting the modest framework of farce, but filling it so well with studies of manners and character that the frame cracked." He did this with the two farces which stormed Paris, the *Précieuses Ridicules*, and *Sganarelle ou Le Cocu Imaginaire*, in which last the name Sganarelle replaces that of Mascarille borne hitherto by the farcical heroes of his plays. For it is still the Marquis Mascarille who in the *Précieuses* enters the drawing-room of Madelon and Cathos in the dress described by the diarists which sent the audience into vociferous laughter. After Sganarelle the name of Mascarille disappears for ever from Molière's plays, and the change marks the step from incident to character. Mr. Rigal reckons the *École des Maris* amongst the farce-like comedies, which lead on to the *École des Femmes*, and in the end to the great comedies which are the last stage of Molière's art. But all the while down to his death he was writing farces, and earning for himself the *fou rire* of his audience. Largely

they were made to divert the Court, and often written with great rapidity. Mr. Rigal observes how unjust accordingly is Boileau's insinuation against Molière, when the ties of friendship between them had been loosened, that he wrote farces to please the populace—

> Molière illustrant ses ecrits,
> Peut-être de son art eût remporté le prix,
> Si moins ami du peuple, en ses doctes peintures
> Il n'eût point fait souvent grimacer ses figures,
> Quitté pour le bouffon l'agréable et fin
> Et sans honte à Terence allié Tabarin.

In the first place it was the Court ordered most of his farces ; it was the bourgeoisie that made the success of the great plays ; and next Molière required no inducement to write farces, and showed no repugnance in doing so. They reek, in fact, positively with their author's delight. Poor Molière had sorrows enough ; but his spirits were irrepressible and the edge of his gaiety never dulled. When the writing of *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* became too difficult for the time at his disposal, he lapsed into farce after the third act. Some commentators please themselves in shrugging their shoulders over this lapse and over other cases in which more restrained farce turns into rollicking fun. For example, in *Le Mariage Forcé*, after the half grave interview with the sceptical philosopher whom the old man Sganarelle consults as to the wisdom of his marrying his very young ward—the succeeding visit to the Peripatetic Pancrace is a scene of the wildest and most outrageous fun, repeating more exuberantly the scene of *Le Dépit Amoureux* in which Albert consults the philosophical tutor Metaphraste on the future of his pupil, Albert's son.

We may shake grave heads of disapproval over these frequent lapses of Molière from the highest levels of his art. But perhaps it is better to be thankful for what we have. Could the gaiety and wit of the comedies proper have been maintained had Molière had no outlet for his sheer love of fun ? And does anyone seriously regret the conferring upon M. Jourdain of the dignity of Mamamouchi ? or feel ungratefully unmoved when the Grand Turk and his attendants rise and pronounce the words, " Ha la ba, ba la chou, ba la ba, ba la da ? " A good critic has declared *Le Médecin malgré lui* to be the greatest farce ever written, and it is certainly the most famous one.

I do not envy the feelings or the judgment of those who do not thank God for the Molière of the farces.

Moreover, even they are suffused with that air of good sense and reasonableness which is the very life blood of the comedies. The nurse, Jacqueline, in *Médecin malgré lui*, observes when they are going to bring in the new doctor to cure Lucile's dumbness, "la meilleure médeçaine que l'an pourrait bailler à votre fille, ce serait, selon moi, un biau et bon mari, pour qui alle eût de l'amiquié." M. de Porçeaugnac, who thinks himself the incarnation of common sense, is mocked in the name of good sense for his foolish and impudent aspiration, being as he is a citizen of Limoges, to marry a Parisian girl; and being charged in the teeth of all evidence with having already a wife is gravely assured by two lawyers that polygamy is a hanging matter, on the authority of great lawyers and the customs of civilised peoples, whose names are strung together in a way which makes Molière the forerunner of our own W. S. Gilbert.[1] In the

[1] *Premier Avocat.*

La polygamie est un cas,
Est un cas pendable.

Second Avocat.

Votre fait
Est clair et net;
Et tout de droit,
Sur cet endroit,
Conclut tout droit.
Si vous consultez nos auteurs,
Législateurs et glossateurs,
Justinian, Papinian,
Ulpian et Tribonian,
Fernand, Rebuffe, Jean Imole,
Paul, Castie, Julian, Barthole,
Jason, Alciat, et Cujas,
Ce grand homme si capable;
La polygamie est un cas,
Est un cas pendable.

Tous les peuples policés,
Et bien sensés;
Les Français, Anglais, Hollandais,
Danois, Suedois, Polonais,
Portugais, Espagnols, Flamands,
Italiens, Allemands,

semi-farce, *Malade Imaginaire*, Toinette the maid is the last of those adorable young women, half servants and half confidantes, from Lisette, and Dorine in *Le Tartuffe*, onwards, who embody just judgment in racy speech and are perhaps the great glory of Molière's women, unless we rather incline to the Henriettes and the Célimènes.

In fine, the story is always the same. Whether Molière is writing farce and leaving the judgment of his extravagance not so much to the characters who take the side of good sense and reason as to the audience itself; or is writing in the grave mood which befits the highest comedy, he is always the humane and wise, who makes faulty human nature in all its forms show itself up for its folly or its wisdom or in some cases for its harmfulness. It is only that in the great comedies he rises to the highest point of that insight into our strength and our weaknesses from which his whole humour issues. He is so great an artist because he has this command of subject and because with him "se laisser prendre aux choses" overflows into clear and graceful and witty speech.

I have said and intend to say little or nothing of Molière's artistry of words. For two good reasons, the first that I am concerned with his outlook upon life as we find it in the plays. The second because I have not the competence to judge him as a stylist. Boileau himself in earlier days lost himself in admiration of Molière's facility and elegance. He is accused by those who know of carelessness of style, and on many occasions he was writing against time. You are struck by the ease and unrestraint of the verse. You desiderate the lyric gift which makes Shakespeare's lighter fancies so enchanting, or turns some of his heroes like Macbeth into poets. Molière is no romantic but the dramatist of good sense and moderation. Yet in all this equable speech there is the greatest variety. He was not, as everyone knows, scrupulous about where he found his goods, and stole where he

> Sur ce fait tiennent loi semblable;
> Et l'affaire est sans embarras;
> La polygamie est un cas,
> Est un cas pendable.
>
> *Premier Avocat.*
>
> La polygamie est un cas,
> Est un cas pendable.
>
> —(Act. ii. Sc. 3.)

found. Sometimes he hardly varies a word, though the variation is critical, and his victim is forgotten and Molière is immortalised by his thievings.

Le véritable Amphitryon
C'est l'Amphitryon où l'on dîne,

is taken almost verbally from a poet Rotrou. He took Cyrano's "que diable aller faire dans la galère d'un Turc," and making the old father ask the question in a very slightly different form and with equally insane desperation he made it glorious. Perhaps the late E. Rostand did justice to poor Cyrano's generosity when he makes him say sadly of the rival (unhandicapped by a portentous nose) who displaced him in the affections of Roxane, and of the man who stole his wit :

Molière a du génie, et Christian était beau.

I could not trust myself for want of knowledge to compare his style with that of other great writers of French. It seems to me both limpid and sparkling. I should not equal it with that of his great contemporary, Pascal, but what prose writer but Plato is worthy of such a comparison ? and what poets but some who are greater than Molière have such mastery of direct and passionate speech ? He is rather to be appraised in comparison with Corneille and Racine and Boileau, with Lafontaine and Voltaire ; and I have not the necessary competence. One quality of Molière's writing deserves a special mention. It is his amazing virtuosity ; his power derived, no doubt, from his habit of close observation, of making things and persons live by their details. The best example that I know is the speech of the hunting bore in *Les Fâcheux* (The Bores) : the play he wrote rapidly for Fouquet's entertainment of the king at Vaux (described by Dumas in the *Vicomte de Bragelonne*) from which the host went to his arrest and disgrace. The speech bristles with technicalities and detains the lover from his engagement with his mistress with the arresting copiousness which only a bore can inflict. This was "se laisser prendre aux choses" with a vengeance.

Noscitur a sociis : a man is known by the company he keeps. I hope it may not weigh greatly against my character if I confess that two of my greatest intimates through life, perhaps the two greatest intimates, outside the circle of philosophers, have been Dr. Johnson and Molière ; with whom as the old scholar says in Southey's poem,

"I take delight in weal and seek relief in woe." Others, perhaps, for hours of rapture; for habit and solid felicity, these two. No one would for a moment put Johnson (even at his best in conversation as he appears in Boswell's book), with Molière as an artist or a literary figure. Johnson belongs indeed to the English-speaking people, but Molière to the world. They have, however, one trait in common, their knowledge of life and their wise humanity. With what amateurish inadequacy I have appraised Molière in this paper I know well. But at least I have tried to express in some measure the gratitude that I feel to a great man, a great artist, an inexhaustible spring of wisdom and gaiety, and a most dear friend.

A GRÆCO-ROMAN TRAGEDY.[1]

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THE title of this lecture may seem to need some defence. A Græco-Roman tragedy sounds rather like a Scotch eisteddfod, or a Welsh haggis ; or, at best, some dubious product like 'Californian champagne.' Most of us have some conception of what is meant by a Greek tragedy ; for the lines of that form of poetic art were so perfected by the great Athenian poets that they stamped themselves on the world's imagination ; and it is hardly too much to say that no dramatist since, through all the centuries, whether he knows it or not, has been able wholly to escape the effects of the Greek tradition. And its influence has been felt, not merely in drama, but in many other kinds of creative art ; for example, in narrative poetry. And critics have pointed out that more than one historian, in tracing some series of events to their consummation, has shown a desire so to arrange and proportion the scenes of his story as to create the impression of a drama.

The fall of the Athenian power in Thucydides and the short reign of Galba in Tacitus are often quoted as examples of this instinct in the historian's mind. And my object to-night is to put before you a case of the same power of depicting events which actually happened in such a way as to leave the reader with a sense of having watched a tragedy. The separate scenes, though they are scattered over some thirty years and appear only at intervals in the text of the history, seem nevertheless, taken in their order, to show a feeling hardly less deep, and a selective power hardly less dramatic than we are accustomed to associate with the masters of Tragedy.

[1] A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 13th January, 1926.

The Fourth Decade of Livy has been little read except by special students of a difficult period, and even by them rarely read as a whole ; but to any one who reads the ten Books through, it must, I think, be clear, that the theme which fills the most striking scenes of Book XL. and ends in the death of Philip V. of Macedon, was present to Livy's mind in all the earlier parts of the Decade which he devotes to Philip's career ; though it is only in Book XL. that the narrative takes the amplitude and dignity of tragedy.

The development of Philip's character is traced in the long struggle that he maintained, never with complete success, but always escaping complete defeat, against the adverse conditions that surrounded his throne in the first twenty years of his reign, i.e. the last twenty of the 3rd century B.C.

We need not dwell on the peculiar interest of the century that followed in the history of Europe. In a sentence, we may say that it was the time in which the noblest minds of Rome began to apply to the government of the world the conceptions which they had newly learned from the noblest minds of Hellas. In this great attempt they met few obstacles so baffling as the conduct of the backward or degenerate states among those which claimed the Greek name. The conception of free government for which Pericles and Demosthenes had pleaded, and which they had maintained over a space of nearly two centuries at Athens, appeared to Romans like Scipio and Flamininus a guiding star for all rulers of men ; but of the Athenians themselves, after a century of political humiliation, nothing could be said but that[1] 'they waged war on Philip with speeches and despatches—the only weapons which they knew how to use.'

The personality of Philip is complex enough to challenge the historian. At bottom he was a barbarian ; but among barbarians he was distinguished not merely by touches of statesmanship and even of clemency, but by his keen comprehension of the motives which governed the conduct of nobler men. The tragedy of his life lay in the conflict between his barbarian instincts, worthy of any Turkish Sultan, and the force of liberal principles which the Romans were then applying with enthusiasm to the new provinces now at their feet. Had there been no Romans, Philip's career might have resembled that of his great

[1] Livy, 31, 44, 9.

predecessor, Alexander; and the Empire he would have established might have lasted longer; though it would probably have been marked by greater cruelty. But his life was wrecked on these new factors in the world, the power of Rome, and the faith in free government which animated the leading Romans of that day.

The enterprise and popularity of the young king, his alliance with Hannibal and his aggressions on other Greek states had given the Romans grave anxiety during most of the Second Punic War, i.e. from 215-205 B.C.; and his conduct had not only created a league against him between several communities outside Macedon, such as Athens and the Ætolians, but it had made everyone familiar with the licentious cruelty of which he was capable. This part of his career hardly marked him out from his immediate predecessors on the throne of Macedon, or from any other of the ring of half-civilised potentates with whom the free Greek States had been in contact for several centuries.

But greater qualities in Philip appeared in the Second Macedonian War which the Romans declared, after much hesitation, in 200 B.C. In the operations of that year we find him for the first time[1] in sight of a Roman army and he at once appreciated the meaning of its discipline and tactical system. "These are no barbarians," he said, echoing the words of King Pyrrhus. Soon after we find his daring courage displayed in the battle[2] of Octolophus, where he escaped death only by the devotion of one of his troopers, who gave the king his horse but was himself at once cut down. With no less courage he faced, single-handed, a war with the Romans, having failed to detach from their alliance either the Rhodians or King Attalus. At one conference,[3] later on, where his opponents had shown him little respect, he is said to have retorted with a line of Theocritus, then not fifty years old (though it may have embodied an older saying): ἤδὴ γὰρ φράσδει πάνθ' ἥλιον ἄμμι δεδύκειν; ('do you reckon that the sun has set on us for the last time?') His sinister diplomacy appeared in an ingenious attempt[4] to secure possession of Corinth and other strong places of Achæa under pretext of making war against the Spartan tyrant, Nabis,—an attempt frustrated by the

[1] Livy, 31, 34, 8.
[2] *Ibid.*, c. 37.
[3] 39, 26, 9.
[4] 31, 25.

courage of the magistrate presiding over the Achæan assembly, who ruled the king's application out of order, because it had not been circulated on the agenda. Philip proceeded to soothe his irritation by laying waste[1] the territory round about Athens, issuing quite Hunnish orders to his troops not merely to demolish every temple and shrine but to smash into fragments every statue which they found in the whole area. After his first defeat by Flamininus on the river Aous he began negotiations for peace; but in the colloquy[2] the chief magistrate of the Ætolians, called Phæneas, who happened to be very short-sighted, broke in upon Philip's speech, declaring roughly that the king must either accept the terms offered him or else win the war. 'Yes,' said Philip, 'it needs no eyes to see that.' This retort, adds the grave historian, was too pointed to be seemly for a king—but Philip was always like that.

The war continued until Flamininus' great victory at Cynoscephalae in 197 when Philip showed his prudence by offering humble terms of submission[3] and gave many hostages—among them, his own son Demetrius, a boy of twelve, who was taken to Rome, and remained there for six years. Philip's submission involved the surrender of his strongholds in the mainland of Greece, outside Macedon itself, and this was publicly announced,[4] to the almost incredulous delight of the Greeks assembled for the Isthmian Games at Corinth in 196 B.C. But all this did not break the king's spirit; for when Macedon itself was invaded by a neighbouring tribe, he raised an army by a new levy and drove them out[5] for 'to lose any part of Macedon he counted a crueller fate than death.'

In the next six years (196-190 B.C.) we hear less of Philip but much of the wisdom of Flamininus in settling the affairs of Greece, a figure which Livy sets in vivid contrast to that of Philip. The conclusion of his farewell speech[6] to the Greek assembly marks the central point in the story of this Decade. He counselled all the cities to judge their friends by deeds and not by words: and to use their own liberty in moderation.

[1] Livy, c. 26. [2] 32, 34, 3. [3] 33, 13.
[4] The wider interest of this proclamation is discussed in *New Studies of a Great Inheritance* (1921).
[5] 33, 19, 3. [6] 34, 49, 4 ff.

'For liberty, if it be well tempered is wholesome for individuals and for states; but if it run to excess, it becomes not only insupportable to others but unruly and ruinous (*præcipitem et effrenatam*) to them that have it. Not only should the different leaders and classes in each city maintain concord [1] among themselves; but also each city with all the rest; for so long as you will live in harmony together, no king nor tyrant will be strong enough to hurt you. But discord and sedition open an easy way to enemies that lie in wait. Keep and preserve by your own vigilance this your liberty purchased for you by foreign forces, and handed over to you by the good faith of strangers; so that the people of Rome may see, that they have given freedom to folk that deserve it and chosen well those on whom their benefaction should be bestowed.'

In the years 194-190 B.C., when the proceedings of Antiochus, the king of Syria and host of the exiled Hannibal, almost fill the stage, Philip fulfilled his treaty obligations to Rome with remarkable good faith,[2] sorely tempted to break them though he often was. But his feelings towards Antiochus were embittered by a curious proceeding on the part of that potentate. When Antiochus came into Europe in 191, he was bound, in order to visit his allies the Ætolians, to cross Thessaly and so to pass near the site of the battle of Cynoscephalæ, where the bones of those who had fallen in 197 still lay unburied. By way of presenting himself as a champion of Greek sentiment, Antiochus ordered his own troops to bury the skeletons and to proclaim the fact—an example, as Livy remarks,[3] of royal vanity loving projects that make a show but serve no purpose. Antiochus only aroused Philip's anger by reminding everyone of the rout which he had suffered on that spot.

[1] A modern parallel to this wise advice may not be without interest. In the *Manchester Guardian* of 13 January, 1926, the day before this lecture was delivered, Mr. Lloyd George, who had just returned from a visit to Italy, was concerned to warn us against the dangers entailed by the intransigeance of different political parties, which in several countries of Europe had led to a breakdown of Parliamentary government altogether. He pointed to what had happened in Russia and Italy and what was happening, or not happening, in France. "If the progressive parties in those countries had acted in unison, you would to-day have had a progressive Europe. . . . In Rome it was the failure of the Parliamentary system that brought in Mussolini, a very outstanding figure, a very remarkable man, whether you approve of his methods or not. . . . The Italian groups would not act together and Mussolini in the confusion that ensued from disunion . . . marched on the capital. For the moment, at least, there seems to be general acceptance of his regime.

[2] 36, cc. 4, 13, 14.

[3] 36, c. 8.

Later in the same year Philip sent legates to Rome offering congratulations on the defeat of Antiochus at Thermopylæ and his envoys were[1] allowed to make offerings to Jupiter on the Capitol, and to take back the chief hostage whom Philip had given, the young prince Demetrius, who had come to Rome a boy of twelve and was now a youth of eighteen. He had been treated well and received the best education that Rome could provide in a period when good Greek teachers were beginning to be numerous; and it is not surprising that his outlook on life, and especially on Macedonian politics, had "suffered a sea change."

In the next year (190 B.C.) the two Scipios went out to carry the war against Antiochus into Asia, and they found Philip[2] thoroughly friendly, preparing all the roads and supplies needed for their armies. But after Antiochus had been finally worsted and the affairs of Greece had to be settled again, Philip was chagrined[3] to find that the Roman policy remained exactly what it had been, and that he was now required to evacuate several Greek towns in Thrace which he had been allowed in the war to occupy. One of these was Maronea, which Philip held to be his by right of his own conquest, not in virtue of the Roman victory at all. On receiving his protest, the Roman commissioners temporised, reserving the question for the Senate's decision; but meanwhile made Philip withdraw his garrison so as to leave the matter open. The Senate in the end decided that the towns were to be left free; but before Philip had official information of this, he arranged[4] with his commander in that part of Thrace, a man called Onomastus, to introduce secretly into the town a band of Thracians; and these barbarians at once massacred all those of the citizens who had been unlucky enough to show any disposition to resist Philip. The Romans protested, demanding the surrender of Onomastus and of the Maronean traitor (called Cassander) who had actually admitted the Thracians. Philip refused to surrender Onomastus though he promised to hand over Casander; but somehow or other Casander was found to have died, at a most convenient moment for the king.

Philip, however, felt himself not yet strong enough for open war; and in 183 B.C. sent[5] his son Demetrius (then 25 years old) back to

[1] Livy, c. 35. [2] 37, c. 8. [3] 39, c. 28 (185 B.C.).
[4] 39, c. 34. [5] 39, cc. 35, 47, 53.

Rome to plead for him; and to Demetrius the Senate showed the utmost courtesy, though he found it difficult to make out his father's case and only succeeded in producing the notes which his father had given him and which had been discreetly composed in general terms. On some points Demetrius offered excuses; and on others he made promises for the future. The Senate thereupon resolved to thank Philip for having sent his son Demetrius and to inform him that they accepted the pledges which Demetrius offered because of their confidence in the young prince himself, whom they knew to be a friend of the Roman people so far as his loyalty to his father would permit; and Philip was to understand that he owed their continued friendship largely to their esteem for Demetrius. This message, sent to do honour to Demetrius, had some effects which the Senate did not foresee; and the fulness with which Livy narrates the incident is due to his sense of the tragic irony which it involved.

On his return to Macedon Demetrius was received with great favour by the multitude, who looked on him both as the author of the peace, and through the favour of Rome, as the most likely successor of his father; especially because his elder brother Perseus was not a legitimate son of Philip and had none of the personal likeness to the king which was conspicuous in Demetrius. Perseus naturally regarded the position of affairs with other eyes; and so did Philip, who had long been cherishing resentment against Rome. Nevertheless he submitted to the terms which Demetrius brought, and the stage was set for the final acts of the tragedy.

The theme round which the tragedy centres, is the inherent weakness of autocracy, what Tacitus calls *inopia veri*, that the autocrat can never be sure of knowing the truth. This theme is characteristically Greek. But we know that the shadow of the same inexorable law was beginning to be felt[1] even under the generally benevolent rule of Augustus in Rome, within a very few years of the time when Livy began to write history. Like conditions produce like effects: the courts of the Claudian emperors were infested by secret intrigues for deceiving the emperor, of which Tacitus has drawn a grim picture. In Livy's Fourth Decade there are some traces of a change of tone in the

[1] For instance in the case of Gallus (26 B.C.) whose folly must have been gravely exaggerated in the reports which reached Augustus (see *Great Inheritance*).

narrative; and one naturally asks whether the weariness which he now more than once confesses, may not be connected with the consciousness that when he is contrasting the best Roman spirit breathed by men like Flamininus with the policy and aims of Philip, he is also contrasting it, inevitably, with the fundamental character of the government under which Rome was living in his day. At all events, by keeping such a question in mind, as we read the story, we shall certainly be erring on the right side; that is to say we shall be watching the drama in a temper akin to that which Livy avowed in the Preface to his whole work, when he described his own time as one in which Rome had grown so great that she 'could endure neither the corruptions of her government nor their remedies,' i.e. the imperial system.

Livy has made it clear that the whole story turns on the conflict between the ambitions of Philip and the ideals of Rome. It was not a struggle for dominion in the ordinary sense. Philip was left in safe possession of his own kingdom; and could he only have brought his proud spirit to live without trespassing on the freedom of his neighbours, he might have died at least a comparatively happy man. The conflict was essentially ethical and psychological, fought out in Philip's soul. Merely by having his own way, he doomed himself to years of remorse, ended only by his death; and his subjects to the rule of a tyrant, ended only by their complete disappearance as a nation. Stages of this inward conflict are traced by Livy in a series of scenes based on a few facts briefly noted by Polybius, but put into a form which, I venture to think, is not unworthy of a poet.

We have followed in outline the course of Philip's reign to the point which Livy reaches in Book XXXIX. As a kind of keynote to the culmination of the tragedy in the fortieth Book, he sets a grim story of Philip's cruelty towards some of his own subjects. Philip openly avowed that[1] he was acting on a saying ascribed to an ancient Epic poet,[2] and often quoted, that only fools would kill a father and leave his sons alive. Philip had put to death a leading citizen of Thessaly and his two sons; the widow of one of the sons died;—the other widow, in charge of her own and her sister's children, killed

[1] 40, 3, 7.

[2] Stasinos; the saying is ascribed to Cyrus in Herodt., 1, 155, and to Menelaus by Euripides (*Androm.*, 520).

them all, and her second husband, and herself, to escape from Philip's order of arrest which she knew meant death for the elders and nameless slavery for the children.

Livy then resumes the narrative where it had been[1] left on the return of Demetrius from Rome (in 183 B.C.). Perseus, seeing his brother's great popularity, took the course that seemed natural to his own barbarian instincts, and began to plot for his destruction. Let us follow Livy's narrative :—[2]

'Now at the first some of Philip's counsellors would not consent to hear of any such thing, because they had better hope of Demetrius. But afterwards, as the hatred of Philip against the Romans, which Perseus still fostered, grew daily greater,—whereas Demetrius with all his might laboured against it,—foreseeing in their minds the unhappy end of Demetrius, who was not heedful enough to guard himself against his brother, they sided with Perseus; choosing this policy, to set forward that which in the end would take effect, namely to advance the hope of the mightier son. . . . For the present, the best course they thought upon was this, to incense the king all that ever possibly they could against the Romans; to induce him still to think of nothing but war, whereto of his own accord he was well enough inclined. And withal (to the end that Demetrius might be from day to day more and more suspected) they entered of purpose into speech touching the concerns of the Romans: whereat some of them would seem to pour scorn upon their manners and laws, others would belittle their deeds, some scoffing at the very form and making of the city of Rome, how it was not embellished with any stately buildings, public or private: others deriding the chief personages of the city one by one. On this the inconsiderate young prince Demetrius, carried away both with an affection to the Romans, and with rivalry to his brother, would answer to all these points in defence of the Romans: by which means he brought himself into more jealousy with his father. . . . So his father acquainted him no more with any counsel touching Roman affairs, but wholly relied upon Perseus. . . . Now the Macedonians[3] had a custom of celebrating their festivals by a sham fight, the manner of which was, after sacrifice, for the whole army to be divided into two battalions, and for the one to charge the other, representing a real conflict. And on one such occasion who should be the leaders in this pastime, but the king's two sons? But believe me, they jested never a whit, nor made a vain show, but went to it roundly in good earnest, as if they would determine now who should be king another day. Foul work they made with their wooden swords; many were wounded, and nothing wanted there of a very bloody battle but sharp iron. . . . On that day Perseus' battalion was completely beaten and driven off the field. . . .

[Each returned home with his own friends, Perseus having refused an invitation from his brother.] But Perseus had sent a spy to listen what talk

[1] 39, c. 47.
[2] 40, 5, 4. The renderings are based on Philemon Holland's.
[3] 40, 6, 5.

there was at his brother Demetrius' table. This spy demeaning himself not so circumspectly as he should, was encountered by certain youths that chanced to come forth of the parlour where they sat at supper, and was well beaten for his pains.

Demetrius heard nothing of this, but chanced to say at table, "Why go we not and banquet with my brother? And if there remain any anger and displeasure behind after our jousting in jest, let us appease it by frankness and mirth?" They all agreed with one voice, save only those that feared to be detected and punished for misusing the aforesaid spy. Demetrius however would needs have them also with him: whereupon they took weapons hidden under their apparel, for fear of the worst, that they might defend themselves, if any violence were offered. But what can be kept secret, where there is intestine discord in one family? Both houses were full of spies and false knaves.

So there ran before them a tale-carrier unto Perseus, and declared unto him that there were coming with Demetrius four young men with privy daggers by their sides. And albeit Perseus wist well enough what was the cause thereof (for he had heard that one of his own men had been by them beaten) yet to aggravate the matter and make it more odious, he commanded his doors to be fast locked; and from the upper rooms, out of the windows, he warned off those that came to be merry with him from approaching the door, as if their coming was for no other purpose but to murder him.

Demetrius after he had for a time called out in the street against being shut out, with some noise, as a man would after drinking wine, departed and returned again to his own house, all the while knowing nothing of what the matter really was.

The next morning Perseus with some of his friends laid before the king a solemn charge against his brother of having come to his house with armed men in order to murder him. Philip sent for Demetrius and some of his own most trusted counsellors and en addressed[1] them thus:

"Here sit I, a most wretched father, to be a judge between my two sons, the one plaintiff, the other defendant in a charge of attempted murder; and to find, on my own house and blood, the stain of that crime, either falsely alleged, or in deed essayed. . . . During my natural life, while breath is still in my body, both of you, seduced by inordinate desire, are ready to take possession of my kingdom over my head. And so long only would you have me to live, until by surviving the one of you, I might then, by my death, leave the other my sole heir. Sick ye are, I see well, of father and brother; ye can abide neither the one nor the other. . . . An unsatiable desire to be king hath possessed your hearts. Come on therefore now, if you must, and grieve and wound your father's ears with your reciprocal accusations, you that full soon, I know, will be for deciding it by dint of sword. Spare not; speak out all that either you can allege truly, or list to invent falsely. Mine ears are

[1] 40, 8, 7, and 16 ff.

now open, but hereafter they shall be close shut against all secret slanders that you may report one against the other."

When he had breathed out these words with great indignation, those who stood by felt the tears in their eyes, and for a good time there was not a word spoken; until at length Perseus began:

"I ought belike to have opened my door in the night and received into my house armed guests, yea and held out my throat for them to cut; since nothing is believed, until the deed be done: since unto me whose life hath been sought words are said which were more beseeming to speak unto a robber by the highway side. It is not for nought, I see well, that these here give out abroad that you have no more sons than Demetrius, and call me a bastard, and only a supposed son of yours, as not begotten of a lawful wife. For if you indeed vouchsafed me the place and love of a son, you would never storm against me so as you do, for discovering the ambush set for me, and complaining thereof; but against him rather that laid in wait to surprise me: neither would you make so small account of my life, as not to be moved either for the danger wherein I was, nor at the peril to come, if such cut-throats may escape unpunished. Now, if there be no remedy, if I must die and say nothing, then let me hold my tongue, only praying the gods that this mischief begun in me, may also end with me; and that it be not you, who is in truth to be wounded through my body. . . . But in case it be lawful for me to cry out, when I see the sword drawn upon me, . . . then I beseech you for the love of your good self, and the name of a father (and which of us twain have held that name in more honour you full well know long since), give me audience, and hear me, as if you had been awakened at my cry last night, and came to me when I was forced to call, 'Help, Help;' and as if you had taken Demetrius in the act, in the very entry of my door at dead of night with a retinue of armed men. . . ."

A little later on the young orator turns directly upon his brother:

"In the solemn review of the army, when we were jousting in a mock skirmish, you missed little of making it a bloody battle; and nothing else saved me from death but this, that I suffered myself and my men to be overcome." . . .

Then he turns[1] to his father again:

"To what place shall I look for refuge? Nothing do I rely upon, father, but the gods and your own self. As for the Romans, I stand in no terms of favour with them: nay, they all wish me put out of the way because I take to heart the wrongs done you by them; because I show myself touched with the indignity that so many cities and tribes are plucked from you; and that of late they have despoiled you of all the maritime parts of Thrace: and because so long as either you or I live, they never look to enjoy Macedonia themselves. . . . Whereto think ye tend those letters of Quinctius Flamininus sent lately unto you, wherein he writeth, that you did passing well for your

[1] 40, 10, 5.

own estate, in sending Demetrius to Rome? This T. Quinctius (if you will know the reason) is the man who now directeth Demetrius in all things: he is his counsellor and schoolmaster. And Demetrius hath rejected and cast you off, his own father, and hath put Flamininus in your stead. . . . But what imagineth Demetrius, suppose ye? 'Mine elder brother (thinks he) stands in my way; to him appertains the kingdom by right and by my father's will: let us rid him out of the world. As for my father, he is aged, and desolate; he will have more care to look to his own person, than to revenge the death of his son. The Romans, they will rejoice, they will approve and justify my action.' . . .

You will do well to preserve me from danger, now whiles I am alive, by punishing those who take weapon in hand to kill me. For let their enterprise speed once and take effect, you will never have the power to pursue them and revenge my death."

When Perseus had made an end of his speech, they that were present cast their eyes upon Demetrius, expecting that he would make answer immediately, and so all were silent a long time; for they perceived that Demetrius could not for weeping open his lips: but in the end they prevailed on him to speak.

Of the reply of Demetrius,[1] a straightforward and pathetic speech, I wish it were possible to quote more than a fraction, for the means by which Livy indicates the honesty and simplicity of the young prince, in contrast with the crafty rhetoric of his brother, are well worth study. Demetrius begins by pointing out the peculiar hardship of the prejudice raised against him by the suggestion that his interest in Rome itself implies disloyalty to his father; and shows his complete innocence of the charge of making any attempt on his brother's safety.

"In good faith, Perseus, if I had been a traitor to the king my father and to our country, if I had complotted with the Romans and my father's enemies, methinks you should not have waited for this night's devised fable, but you ought long ago to have accused me of treason. . . . Why, if I had minded to assail your house, and to murder you its master, would I not, think you, have foreborne for my part for one day to quaffe wine, and likewise kept my soldiers from drinking so freely? But for fear I should plead my simplicity and ignorance and make my excuse thereby, this my good brother also mocks my plea in advance by declaring, 'I know nothing, I charge nobody, neither wot I what to say else, but that they came armed to banquet with me.' If I might be so bold as to ask how you came to that knowledge, you must confess that either my house was full of your spies, or that those armed men in my train bore their weapons so openly, that everyone saw them. And because he would have you believe, father, that neither himself made any enquiry before, nor at this time is pursuing the matter with any accusing spirit, he bade you to demand of them whom he named, whether they had not their swords about

[1] 40, cc. 12-15.

them? To the end that after you had sought into it, as if it were a matter doubtful, and found them to confess it, they might thereby be held convicted.

But why rather do you not ask . . . whether they took their swords with them to kill you or no? And whether they did so by my orders or with my knowledge? For this is it that you would make the world believe, not that which my men confess. But the case is plain and nothing else will be found, than that they were armed in their own defence. Whether it were well or ill done, they are of age to render a reason of their own doings. . . . But rather make it plain, whether we meant to assail you openly or secretly? If openly, why were we not all armed? Why was there none of us besides those persons that had beaten your spy? If secretly, what was our design? After the banquet ended, and I retired, were those four to have stayed behind and fallen upon you when you were asleep? How could they have carried it so close as not to be spied, strangers as they were, and my men besides, and above all most suspected, since a little before they had been seen in a brawl? And say, they had killed you; by what means could they escape and save themselves? Was it possible that your house should be forced and kept with four swords? . . .

This is not the first day that my brother hath accused me; but this is the first day that he had accused me openly. . . . From my feasting, my mirth and good cheer, he has hailed me hither half awake, to answer a charge of fratricide: and forced me to plead mine own cause without any to give me counsel or help. . . . What hope should I have now, if I had not my father for my judge? At whose hands (albeit I am not so well beloved as mine elder brother is), yet . . . I ought at least to find compassion. For I beseech you, father, to save me, for my own sake and for yours. . . . What will he do against me, think you, after you have made over the crown to him, when now already he thinks it meet to dispose of my life at his pleasure?"

In uttering these words, the tears gushed forth so abundantly, that they stopped his utterance and he could hardly draw his breath.

Then Philip, after he had communed a while with his friends, declared that he would not decide their cause upon these words of theirs, nor upon one hour's debating, but by enquiry into both their lives, and by observing their behaviour in great matters and in small. Hereby they all saw well enough that the accusation touching the preceding night was sufficiently refuted; and that the only thing in Demetrius to be suspected was the great favour that the Romans bare toward him.

Perseus had no doubt expected this result and was by no means discouraged, but continued his intrigues with Philip's courtiers, being all the while admitted to his father's counsels, from which Demetrius was always excluded. After a difficult expedition,[1] half mountaineering and half political, in which Philip undertook to climb one of the central peaks of the Balkan range, Demetrius, who had accompanied him part of the journey, was sent away, escorted by a general named Didas (then governor of Pæonia) who was in league with Perseus.

[1] 40, 21-24.

This Didas abused the simplicity of the young prince. . . . He complained to Didas (and good cause he had) of those that were nearest unto him by kin; and Didas, by flattering, by soothing him up, and seeming withal to be grieved for his own part at the hard usage which the prince suffered, laid snares and set traps for him; and in the end by his pretended sympathy . . . fetched out of him his purpose to fly to Rome. And to effect this, he was persuaded, that . . . the gods had sent to him this Didas to be his helper; for through his province of Pæonia he conceived some hope to pass and escape.

This intent of his was immediately disclosed to his brother Perseus, and by him to his father. . . .

In the anguish of these cares, when the king had continued some months, in the end those ambassadors came home from Rome, who before ever they set foot out of Macedonia, had devised beforehand what report they would make from Rome. To make up the full measure of their wickedness, they delivered unto the king's hand a forged letter, sealed with a counterfeit seal of T. Quinctius Flamininus, to this effect, that Quinctius should say, that albeit young Demetrius had slipped a little in his inordinate desire to be king, and written to him about some such matter, yet would he, Quinctius, do nothing to injure King Philip, neither would he be found a man to give any evil counsel. This forged letter struck it dead sure, and made the king believe that all the former imputations fastened on Demetrius were true and now proved past all doubt. . . .

Perseus thereon accused Demetrius again before his father, of intending to take his flight through Pæonia. . . . That which was most of all against him, was that same forged letter.

Howbeit there was no grievous sentence pronounced openly against him, to the end that rather by some covert practice he might come to his death: and this not for any fear that Philip had of the young prince, but lest any open punishment, executed upon him, might reveal Philip's secret design of making war upon the Romans. . . .

Now it is reported, that . . . the king gave Didas in charge to kill his son Demetrius. . . . Didas then invited Demetrius to the celebration of a solemn festival, whereupon he came to Heraclea. And (as men say) at this supper he met with a cup of poison. He had no sooner drunk it, but immediately he felt that he was sped; for within a short while it began to work, and for very pain he was forced to rise from the table and retire into his chamber; where he piteously complained of the cruelty of his father, of the murderous mind of his brother, and of the villainy of Didas; and all this while endured deadly torment.

But afterwards there were sent into the chamber one Thyrsis, a Stuberæan, and Alexander of Berea, who enwrapped his head and throat with the bedclothes, and tapestry, and held them so hard, that they stopped his breath. Thus was this innocent prince piteously made away.

But, as the historian observes, 'truth is wont to give many signs and tokens of herself'; and in 179 B.C., two years afterwards, Philip, thanks to his brave and faithful counsellor, Antigonus, learnt the innocence of Demetrius and the guilt of his elder brother.

And in this wise he spake [1] to Antigonus:

"Since my unhappy fortune is such, Oh Antigonus, that I ought to wish myself childless, I purpose to make over unto you my kingdom. . . . No man I have but you, whom I can esteem worthy to wear the crown: and if I knew of none at all, yet had I rather that both it and the realm perished and were extinct for ever, than Perseus should enjoy it as the guerdon of his devilish act. . . . I shall imagine yet that my Demetrius is risen from death to life, if I may leave you in his place, you, the only man of all, that wept for the death of that innocent lad and for my fatal delusion." . . .

Soon after this, Philip was taken with a grievous malady. Howbeit it was very apparent, that he was more sick in mind than body, and that ever and anon the remembrance and apparition of his innocent son, whom he had caused to be done to death, followed and haunted him so continually with remorse that he was out of all sleep: yea, it drove him into raving, with cursing and execrating Perseus his other son; and so he ended his days.

Such is the story, dire enough to rank with those of Oedipus or Hippolytus, a real tragedy, as indeed Polybius observed.[2]

"But what does it profit us," perhaps the reader will ask, "to consider it now?" Well, that depends, no doubt, on what we expect to see happen in Europe in the present generation,—whether we think that despotism will emerge as a form of government, seriously contemplated for a permanence, in one or more of the European states. But let us put the question in another shape: What motives induced Livy to give the story so much room? in particular why did he depict at such length the trial scene before Philip? In the Teubner edition five pages are needed for Demetrius, more than three for Perseus and about one and a half for Philip's introductory address and the verdict—ten pages in all; as compared with little more than five for the great speech of Camillus against the proposed desertion of Rome in 390 B.C.; or, to take another example, with three and a half for Cato's speech against women's rights (in Book XXXIV.), and not quite four for the answer to it by Valerius. In this Macedonian scene, therefore, we have the longest display of oratory that Livy anywhere inserted in the Books which have come down to us.

Now everyone knows that the difference in length is not due to any similar difference in the length of the records which Livy had before him, for of course no such records existed. The speeches which ancient historians were expected to compose are like the leading articles

[1] 40, 54-56.

[2] *Polyb.* xxiii. 10. 16, *τῆς τύχης ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες ἀναβιβαζούσης ἐπὶ σκηνὴν ἐν ἑνὶ καιρῷ τὰς τούτων συμφοράς.* See also xxiii. 11.

of a modern daily paper; they draw out the points of a situation elsewhere described in order to give us the writer's considered judgment of what that situation was. Whether any given incident was worth this kind of illustration was a question not decided in the historian's mind merely by considering the incident in itself, but by regarding it as an event in history, with consequences flowing down through later generations. In other words, the speeches in ancient history are meant to serve the same purpose as the paragraphs in which a modern historian will set himself to demonstrate the peculiar importance of some event which he has just narrated. There is only one point in which the modern method is clearly better than the ancient, namely, that where the historian is wrong, as he often is, it is easier for his readers and critics to identify and correct his mistaken judgments when he publishes them over his own signature than when he embodies them in a dramatic scene.

This interpretation of past events is a point at which the function of the historian comes close to that of the poet. In one of the examples just mentioned, we know now that Livy's motive for dwelling so long on the protest of Camillus against the desertion of Rome was a real danger which threatened the city at the time when he was writing the Fifth Book (somewhere between 31 and 29 B.C.); and the same danger, as we know, called forth a poetic oration put into the mouth of Juno in the Third Ode of Horace's Third Book, and also a briefer but far better placed appeal put into the mouth of the same goddess by Vergil in the Twelfth Book of the Æneid, at the crisis of the story. We must not stay now to ask whether any social or political motives attracted Livy to emphasise in this way the controversy about the privileges of women in 195 B.C., beyond the chivalrous and enlightened interest in women's life which is a marked feature of all his writings,—though I think the question is worth putting, especially if further study can bring us nearer to knowing the date of the composition of different parts of Livy's history. But we are concerned now to ask whether there were reasons in the events that Livy saw coming to pass in his own day that suggested the prominence which he has given to this story of Demetrius and Philip. The scenes must have possessed some special significance in his mind, especially if we remember that, properly speaking, they lay outside the straight path of his work as a historian of Rome; indeed it is one of

the incidents from which one might have expected him to turn aside, as he does, for example, from discussing the results of the resistance offered to Antiochus by the Rhodians[1] which he says it is not worth while to trace in detail, "since my powers are hardly equal to relating the events which properly belong to the war with Rome."

Of course we may answer that the scene was one of peculiar pathos. No doubt, but surely not more so than other scenes which he depicts with lively and delicate feeling, but in much shorter space; such, for example, as the story of Verginia's death at her father's hand to escape the brutality of Appius Clausius, the whole of which takes less than five pages. Again it may be said, and I believe truly, that we have probably here the type of representation familiar in the schools of the time where pupils were taught to compose orations on two opposite sides of a case. Of this we have examples left us in the works of Marcus Seneca, the rhetorician of Livy's own day. But even if it be so, we still ask why this particular scene should be chosen for such amplification. Professor W. B. Anderson has demonstrated that the picturesque digression in Book IX. on the probable outcome of a conflict between Alexander the Great and Rome, if it had arisen, was just an old school essay which Livy thought worth a place in his History. But if he had this habit of keeping his youthful essays, he must have had plenty to choose from; and the question remains, why did he choose this particular theme to be one of only two or three so honoured?

We must look for an answer, so at least it seems to me, in the circumstances of Livy's day. The tragedy of Demetrius is typical of what has happened again and again when an autocrat wishes to establish a dynasty in his family, or when he is merely in doubt about a competent successor. In such cases, directly the despot is established on his throne, there begins, it would seem, almost at once, the question of the succession: who may hope to be chosen? Remember the tragic history of the house of Tiberius which happened not long after Livy's death; for Livy survived Augustus by 3 years; —how Tiberius' son Drusus was poisoned (A.D. 23) through the machinations of Tiberius' trusted counsellor Sejanus; and how Tiberius was persuaded by the same traitor to imprison and ultimately

[1] 33, 20, 13; cf. 35, 40, 1.

to destroy his nephew's (Germanicus) son (the younger Drusus) and his nephew's wife Agrippina (who committed suicide in exile), only to discover first the treachery of Sejanus, and then, after his death, the whole truth. Both in its essence and in some of its details the tragedy bears a striking resemblance to that which we have just seen at the Court of Macedon.

But was the stifling quality of the atmosphere at Court felt in Rome for the first time at the accession of Tiberius? Who can think so, who follows the sad story of the different plans which Augustus made for the succession? All but the last of them had one and the same purpose—to keep the Empire out of the hands of his gloomy stepson Tiberius,—who, nevertheless, lived to succeed him.

First his nephew Marcellus, a youth of 18, who was married to Julia (æt. 14) in 25 B.C. Next his great general and admiral Agrippa to whom Augustus in his own grave illness in 23 B.C. handed his signet ring: but on his recovery, Agrippa was sent away to the East and Marcellus again treated as the heir; but Marcellus survived his choice only a few months. Fourthly Agrippa again, now (22 B.C.) compelled, in order to marry Julia, the Emperor's daughter and widow of Marcellus, to divorce his second wife (Marcella, sister of Marcellus) whom years before he had married at the Emperor's command at the expense of divorcing his first! Fifthly, when grandsons of Augustus were born from this union—Gaius and Lucius Cæsar, Augustus adopted them. Then when Agrippa died in 12 B.C., since they were still young children, Augustus insisted on marrying Julia, for the second time a widow, though only 27 years old, to his stepson Tiberius, so that Tiberius might be the legal guardian of the two young Cæsars. For this purpose Tiberius was forced to divorce his wife Vipsania, the daughter of Agrippa by his first wife, and had thus to put away Agrippa's daughter in order to marry her stepmother Agrippa's widow! Tiberius went to Rhodes in 6 B.C., and Julia was banished in 2 B.C. But the hopes of Augustus were to be again defeated by the deaths of his two grandsons in A.D. 2 and A.D. 4 respectively. Their younger brother Agrippa Postumus, born after his father's death, would have been a possible heir but for (what we are told[1] was) his froward disposition. In A.D. 4 (sixthly) Augustus

[1] See Suet., *Aug.* 25; Tac., *Ann.*, 1, 6, 3.

adopted Tiberius (who had returned from Rhodes in A.D. 2); but simultaneously with him, this young Agrippa (then 16 years old). He also required Tiberius to adopt his nephew Germanicus, the son of Tiberius' brother Drusus, the younger son of Livia, a youth to whom Augustus had been warmly attached, whether or not he was actually his father.

But in A.D. 7 Agrippa Postumus (æt. 19) was banished, in consequence of a letter shown to Augustus which was written by a friend of Agrippa's called Novatus, reproaching Augustus for having accepted the fortune of Agrippa's father and given Agrippa no share. A year or two after, a plot was formed to set free this Agrippa and his mother Julia from the imprisonment and exile to which they had by then been condemned, in order to present them to the legions and so to supersede Augustus. The plot was detected before the conspirators had taken any overt steps, and Agrippa and Julia remained in banishment. In spite of all this, in A.D. 13, Augustus himself, at the age of 76, made a voyage to the little island of Planasia, half way to Corsica, in order to see his exiled grandson; and had not his own death followed so quickly, there seems little doubt that Agrippa would have been restored to Rome and the hopes of Tiberius would again have been put in jeopardy. How serious the danger to these hopes had been Tiberius showed on his accession by summarily commanding the execution of the unhappy Prince; so that the visit of his grandfather had served only to mark him out for immediate destruction.

Now is it possible to suppose that while all this was going on men breathed any more freely in the Court of Augustus than they had done in the Court of Macedon? And knowing as we do that Livy[1] enjoyed the friendship of Augustus himself, is it possible to doubt that the picture he has drawn of the plot of Perseus against his young half-brother Demetrius must have seemed to Livy to present a lively analogue to miseries which he knew nearer home? And with this gradual realisation of what the Imperial Government meant to those who were near its centre, may we not connect with this the marked change of tone that readers of the Fourth Decade[2] must observe if

[1] See e.g. Book IV., 20.

[2] In the Fourth Decade for the first time Livy betrays tokens of a certain weariness of his task. See the Exordium to Book XXXI. (c. 1 §§ 1-5) and the passages already cited (33, 20, 13; 35, 40-41).

they remember the buoyant hopefulness which pervades every book of the Third.

There is a striking parallel in the work of Livy's contemporary and fellow-Venetian, Vergil. From the happiness and hopefulness of the greater part of the *Georgics*, especially marked in the conclusion of Book II., the opening of Book III. and the whole of Book IV. (so far as its original content is preserved, that is, in what relates to Bees) we pass to the grave tone of the *Æneid* with death as the subject of its greatest Book, the death of the Emperor's heir as the climax of that Book, and the death of Turnus (that is to say, of Antony and his like) as the end of the whole poem. And if we ask what event brought home to Vergil how deep a shadow dogged the great imperial hope, the answer is clear; it was the tragedy of his friend Gallus[1] in 26 B.C., who, having by his boastfulness offended the Emperor, felt himself doomed to seek death. That tragedy blotted out the end of what was probably the most perfect poem that Vergil ever wrote,—the Fourth Book of the Georgics; and we can hardly doubt that that tragedy, and others like it, drove deep into Livy's mind a consciousness of what despotism really meant.

Now to say that the trial and speech of Demetrius were intended directly to plead for mercy towards the young prince Agrippa would make it almost necessary to assume that the scene was inserted in Book XL. at a date later than the first writing of the Book;—it could indeed be easily detached at the cost of re-wording a single sentence. This would, however, be to outrun any definite evidence to which I can yet point; but the four-fold parallel of Philip, Perseus, Antigonus, and Demetrius, to Augustus, Tiberius, Agrippa, and Agrippa's youngest son, not to think of the other natural heirs of Augustus, is a matter, so far as it holds, of history, not of the historian's treatment. We may guess that Livy shared Augustus' own dislike of Tiberius, since Livy retired from Rome to Padua after Tiberius came to the throne; and such a mind as Livy's must have felt keenly the pathos of the exile of young Agrippa and of his mother Julia; and the hardly less pathetic alternations of affection and suspicion by which the aged Augustus was torn.

In any case his painting of the tragedy of Demetrius was an

[1] See *Great Inheritance*, c. v.

eloquent, though not quite explicit, protest against the dangers of the dynastic system. Livy's attitude had a certain effect, as we know, on the history of the next fifty years, by inspiring some of the would-be republican opposition like that of Cremutius Cordus ;[1] and we are bound also to connect with it the happier days of the post-Flavian Emperors, that is, roughly speaking, of the second century A.D., when great rulers like Trajan were chosen and chose their successors, not in their family but from the best of their lieutenants. For us, at all events, Livy's treatment of the story is a clear record of his loyalty to the principles of just and merciful government of which the great Romans, whose portraits he drew—Publicola, Scipio, Papirius, Cato, Flamininus—have been for all ages the living presentment ; and in the gentle pity with which he relates the vain appeal of Demetrius to his father's affection, and the remorse with which that father discovered too late the treachery of which he, too readily, had been the victim,—in this gentleness and compassion for the tragedies of human lot we feel a breath of that newer and finer spirit which we know so well in Vergil, and which was preparing the way at the very heart of the Empire for the dawn of a gospel of Good Will.

[1] Tac., *Ann.*, 4, 34.

THE EARLY COLONISTS OF THE MEDITERRANEAN.

By J. RENDEL HARRIS, M.A., Litt.D., D.Theol., etc.

IN the *Contemporary Review* for August, 1925, in an article entitled *Adramyttium*, a claim was made of a discovery that the Mediterranean Sea, in very early times, before either Greek or Roman settlements existed, had received migrations of traders and colonists from Southern Arabia. Evidence in support was given along two lines. That the trade had existed and the colonists been in possession was evident from the transfer of place-names (as in so many modern colonisations), and from the existence of places which had been named from the products which were the stock-in-trade of the first settlers. The leading instance of the former class of evidence was that of *Adramyttium* (the modern *Edremit*), in the N.E. angle of the Ægean Sea, which was shown to be the equivalent of *Hadramaut*, the Spice-land of S. Arabia. For the latter line of evidence, instances were given of towns named from the principal Arabian spices, such as *Smyrna* or *Myra*, towns which certainly never produced any tropical spices or incense on their own account. Nor, it was shown, need the claim that the name of a special commodity of trade might come, through time, to be attached to the place in which it was marketed, excite either surprise or incredulity, since we have before us the fact that the Egyptians called Assuan by the name of *Yeb*, i.e. *Ivory*, and the Greeks named the island below the first cataract *Elephantine;* to which we may perhaps add the island of Philae just above the cataract, a word suspiciously like the Arabic *fil* for *elephant*. Assuan was the headquarters of the ivory trade from the Soudan.

It is possible, we think, to detect a third class of place-names, in the form of religious associations, expressed in the use of the names of deities, who migrate with the colonists and have a care of them.

Parallels to this practise may be found in the track of Spanish explorers or Portuguese navigators, who punctuate their paths with saints and churches and festivals. It will be well to keep our eyes open for the migration of S. Arabian deities, for there is reason for believing that the god Min, who is splendidly honoured at Coptos on the Nile, where one of the chief Arabian trade-routes terminates, was specially honoured also in the incense-producing lands of S. Arabia and Ethiopia. There is no *a priori* reason why Min should not appear along with the Minæans and Sabeans in the Mediterranean.

Almost at the same time that our article on Adramyttium appeared, there was published by Professor D. S. Margoliouth a small volume entitled the *Homer of Aristotle*, which showed that his thought had been moving on parallel lines with our own in respect to the existence of prehistoric Arabian colonies in the Mediterranean.

Without discussing the general theory which Professor Margoliouth propounds for the genesis of the Homeric writings, beyond the observation that the book requires a much more thorough examination than it has yet received, we will transcribe what he has said on the subject of Adramyttium and South Arabia; our results, if correct, confirm one another, and there is no question of either priority or plagiarism. The following passages should be noted :—

(p. 88) "Of some prehistoric immigration or immigrations from Arabia traces have been found in names which figure on the map of Asia Minor, and to some extent even on that of Hellas itself. The most striking is doubtless Ἀδραμύττιον, whose identity with Hadramut does not seem doubtful. Abydos, found in the *Iliad*, cannot well be separated from the Abbud of Arabia, and Larissa seems in ancient as in modern times to be an accommodation to European pronunciation of the Arabic al-Arish, 'the Hut. . . .' It would seem that in Homer's time little was remembered of those ancient settlements except their names."

It will be noticed that Professor Margoliouth has, without definitely saying so, added at least four prehistoric Arabian settlements to Adramyttium, from which we started our common enquiry. On the one hand he identifies an Arabian settlement in Thessaly, with its origin in the well-known frontier castle between Egypt and Palestine; on the other hand, he identifies Abydos on the Dardanelles with an

Arabian origin, after which it is hardly possible to exclude the more famous city of Osiris on the Nile. The question is accordingly raised as to whether there was a primitive colonisation of Egypt from Arabia, which does not exclude the idea of intercolonisation, nor the existence of Egyptian colonies in Arabia ; indeed the question must be left open, whether Abydos on the Dardanelles may not be a colony of Egypt itself, for why should it be assumed that Arabian civilisation spread everywhere, and Egyptian nowhere ?

Our present purpose is to carry the enquiry a step further, and to find confirmation for our theory that the Mediterranean was colonised in very early times from the South. When we have made that point clear, we will go on to examine whether there are any traces of similar migrations from the East.

Much of the evidence in support of the truth of our contention regarding these early migrations, is drawn from the presence of the cowry shell amongst the ruins of early cities or in ancient tombs. The cowry comes from the Red Sea or the Indian Ocean (especially the latter), and its presence anywhere, in ancient times, far from its source, implies that it came there, in the last analysis of origins, from Arabian travellers and traders. Let us then further consider the cowry, and its diffusion.

Had we gone through the African section, in the recent Empire Exhibition at Wembley, we should have seen native women wearing two different kinds of head ornaments, some having gold coins on their foreheads, and others cowry shells worked into their hair. Yet both are expressive of the same idea, one is a direct evolution from the other. Each ornament represents, ultimately, a monetary value, for, as we have shown elsewhere, the cowry shell is currency, still, right across Africa ; but in both cases, ornamental value, and its associated magical value, preceded value as currency. The connecting link between the two kinds of ornament is the *gold* cowry, i.e. a piece of gold shaped like a shell, and worn in the same manner as the shell.

We give some further evidence of the use of the cowry as a primitive prophylactic (especially for women), and some early instances of what may be called its "aurification."

When Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Bent travelled, not long ago, in the Eastern Soudan, they found that the women "had glass beads and

cowries tied to their matted locks, and brass and silver rings of considerable size fastened to their noses."[1]

And here is an account of how the men of a Nilotic tribe decorate their hair with cowries. Ferdinand Werne in his *Expedition to discover the Sources of the White Nile* (English trans., 1849, vol. ii., p. 172) noted of a certain Nilotic tribe that "their felt morions were covered over and over with sea-shells (*Cypræa moneta*) and the inside so intertwined with their hair, that they could not take them off without cutting off the hair itself; therefore we could not persuade any of them to sell us their caps. At last one man asked a large shellfull of beads for it. Another fellow was brought to Selim Capitan, but he would not resign his morion for any price, and said that he purchased it for eight cows, and that it came from the very distant countries of KEKESO." Further proof of this use of cowries as a hair-decoration by the men may be found in Grogan (*From the Cape to Cairo*, 1900, ch. xxi.), who tells that the Nuer, a tribe adjacent to the Dinkas, "wear circlets of cowries round their hair, which they wear long, like a mop."

We may note here, also, that African women wear the cowrie not only on the head, but in the form of a girdle round the waist. Good illustrations of these are given in Professor Elliot Smith's work on the *Dragon-Myth*.

When we turn from the ordinary shell, such as is worn on camel's necks or women's hair and waistbands, to consider what I have termed the "aurified" cowry, we find evidence regarding it, which goes back to very early times. For instance, we find the gold cowry in Cyprus among antiquities of the Mycenean period. In Marshall's *British Museum Catalogue of Jewellery*, we find amongst Cypriote antiquities, the following items :—

> "No. 666. Twelve gold beads of the Mycenean period stamped on either side with double-dotted ring, and diametral dotted line, perhaps cowrie shells seen from below.
>
> Nos. 667-669. Similar objects.
>
> No. 678. . . . two gold beads in the form of cowrie-shells, pierced on either side with two holes for stringing."

Entries such as these show us that the cowrie shell, both in its

[1] *Southern Arabia*, p. 304.

natural form, and in its golden imitation, was current in the Mediterranean as early as civilisation itself.

It is, however, in Egypt that the cowry attains not merely "aurification," but the greater glory of the jeweller's art. No more splendid piece of ancient jewellery has ever been unearthed, than the Lahun Treasure, now in New York. It is composed of eight large gold cowries forming a necklace or girdle, and it is described by Mr. Guy Brunton in *Lahun I, the Treasure*. Incidentally, Mr. Brunton remarks, "the cowry was occasionally used as an ornament, and also as an amulet, very rarely, from pre-dynastic times. The use of cowries as amulets is a large subject." We accept the testimony as valuable coming from one who has no special interest in giving it. But no light is shed on the place of the shell in the history of civilisation. In our investigation the cowry is all-important and for this reason, that it is almost the only thing by which we can track an Arabian Civilisation in motion. Frankincense and myrrh leave no traces (unless we include in our enquiry ancient incense burners), and gold, except when made into coin or jewellery, is strictly anonymous. The shell is unmistakable. We have shown it as widely prized and used in the present, among primitive peoples, and possessing a history that stretches far back into pre-historic times. It was, in very early days, an article of commerce and a medium of exchange; it was brought from *Southern Arabia*. These facts, combined with the proofs we have furnished with old towns and trade centres, still traceable, bearing Arabian names, can lead only, in our judgment, to one conclusion, namely, that before Greeks or Romans appear on the page of history, the peoples of Southern Arabia were trading and colonising round the shores of the Mediterranean and in Egypt.

That ancient fable of the Phœnix, which at certain periods of time (they said 500 years), brought the dead body of its predecessor to Heliopolis in Egypt, wrapped in a nest of spices, might sooner have suggested to us that there was some early link between Heliopolis and the Spice lands, and if I remember rightly, Pliny refers the foundation of the city to the Arabians.[1] He too tells us that Coptos, on the Nile, was (I suppose in his own day) the "factory" for

[1] "Solis quoque oppidum, quod non procul Memphi in Aegypto situ discimus, Arabas conditores habere." H.N. vi. 34.

Arabian and Indian merchants. Probably, in view of the persistence of trade routes, Arab traders may have deposited their wares in Coptos at a much earlier period, but, as the name is not an Arabic one, we cannot on philological grounds claim it as an original colony.

I propose to show that there are positive traces of Arabian colonisation in Egypt itself.

If we turn to Ptolemy's description of Arabia, or to the Ptolemaic map as reconstructed by Sprenger, we shall find a reference to a town in the hinterland of the Red Sea coast of Arabia, reached from a sea-port which he calls *Iambia*. The name of the town is given as *Lathrippa*, by Ptolemy. Scholars are agreed in identifying *Iambia* with the modern *Yambo*, and *Lathrippa* with the ancient Arabian town Yathrib, which is no other than the world-renowned Medina, where the tomb of Mohammed is the principal sanctity. The identification, and the involved justification of Ptolemy's accuracy as a geographer, is stated in the following terms by Hogarth in his book on the *Penetration of Arabia*.

> (p. 18) "In *Lathrippa*, placed inland from *Iambia* (Yambo), we recognise the Iathrippa of Stephen of Byzantium, the *Yathrib* of the early Arab traditions, now honoured as El Medina, the City of Cities.
>
> "Where so many identifications are possible, what reasonable critic will deny that Ptolemy's map of inland Arabia was both made in good faith and represented approximately the facts of his time?"

Elsewhere, speaking of Stephen of Byzantium, Hogarth says :—

> (p. 24) "this first compiler of a geographical dictionary—dreary task in which he had many Moslem followers—hardly rendered any service to Arabian topography beyond the correction of Ptolemy's Lathrippa to a form which places its identification with Yathrib-Medina beyond cavil."

We shall assume, then, the identification of Yathrib with Medina.

If we cross the Red Sea to Egypt, we shall find two cities, bearing the Greek name Ἀθριβις (Ἀθριβις) which is suggestive of some connection with the Arabian *Yathrib*. One of them is in the Delta, and answers to the modern town of Benha, the other is not far from Sohag and the great White Monastery of the Copts, and lies on the

opposite side of the Nile to the town of Akhmim (*Gr.* Panopolis). This second *Athribis* has been excavated, though not completely, by Professor Petrie and his colleagues, and the results are contained in the volume of Egpptian explorations bearing the name *Athribis*. The excavators explored the remains of a pair of Egyptian temples, credited to the patronage of Ptolemy Physkon, and Ptolemy Auletes.

Petrie observes on his first page that "the name of this city *Athribis* must not be confused with *Athribis* in the Delta, the modern Benha. The Delta town was *Hat-er-hab*, 'the fortress in the midst of the plain,' the southern town is *Hat-repyt*, 'the fortress of Repyt,'—a lion-headed goddess, who is scarcely known elsewhere." On this supposition, the two Greeek Athribis towns present a chance coincidence in name with one another. But when we find a further chance coincidence with a celebrated town in Arabia, it would seem more reasonable to say that the Egyptian names are etymological perversions, and the goddess Repyt with her lion-head a late addition to an already over-stocked Pantheon. But let us see if we can trace some further proofs of connection of the southern Athribis (Hathribis) with the outside world.

Petrie tells us that "the chief interest in the temple is what is called the Punt chamber, which is devoted to the offering of various trees from Punt." For instance, there is a sculpture of Ptolemy Auletes presenting five trees to Sekhet. Upon this and similar offerings Petrie remarks, "Another interest here is the dedication of incense-trees from Punt. The active trade down the Red Sea, carried on in Ptolemaic and Roman times, may well have brought the trees as well as the incense to Egypt, and the record here is thus in accord with the affairs of the time." The record, we think, does more than furnish additional proof of the existence of trade relations between Egypt and Arabia in the time of the latest Ptolemies. It seems to imply some special early connection between Athribis and the district where the myrrh trees grow, which Ptolemy, the geographer, places to the south-east of the Arabian Yathrib. Let us see what the hieroglyphs on the Punt-chamber say as to the import of the trees.

Petrie: *Athribis*, p. 18:—

> "(Min) lord of Apu (Ekhmim), lofty of plume, king of the Gods in Hat-aah. . . , the good god of Punt. He set up for

him the shrine of the bull (?), and built the shrine in Punt, filling it with myrrh-trees for his mother, the mighty one, the eye of Horus, Repyt, mistress of the West."

Here we see that Min is not only a deity in Punt: he is one also in Athribis. He has migrated along with the myrrh and the myrrh-trees, and has been put into a filial relation, in the Egyptian manner, with the imagined deity Repyt, who is, as we suggest, a derivative from the name Yathrib (Hat-repyt). Min, who thus migrated from the *Regio-Smyrnifera* of Ptolemy, is a heroised form, taken to be the paternal deity of the Minæan kingdom.

It will be seen, then, that we are not unduly imaginative if we affirm the existence of special historical links between Athribis in Upper Egypt and Yathrib in Arabia. Medina has crossed the Red Sea and established itself as a colony on the Nile: and it seems likely that this colony, which can be detected first at Akhmim, and then across the river from Akhmim, became Egyptianised, and finally disappeared in the absorbing numbers of the surrounding tribes. Much the same thing must have happened in Mysia, when Adramyttium was invaded by Greek colonists from Delos, and ceased, in consequence, to be thought of as anything else than a Greek city. Nor need we doubt that there must have been a number of similar colonial ventures, which were superseded by later migrations, and often passed out of sight, without leaving even a name by which to be remembered.

The connection which we have suggested between Yathrib-Medina and Athribis (Hathribis) is not altogether new, and it is contradicted by Hogarth in his recent work, *A History of Arabia.* Nor will he allow that Punt may be regarded as Arabian. His statement is as follows:—

"The Peninsula had remained, for long ages, perhaps till after our era, singularly immune from the influences, political or social, of civilisations outside its limits. . . . Nor, in all probability, were they well acquainted with Pharaonic Egyptians. "*Punt*" *was almost certainly not in Arabia.* Queen Hatshepsut's artist gives the land too African a look to suit the Wadi-estuaries of the south-western Peninsula; *nor may Yathrib be equated with Athribis*, until at least one of those myriad relics, which Egyptians have left on or in the soil wherever their arms or commerce passed, has been turned up in Hejaz" (*A Hist. of Arabia*, p. 8).

It will be observed that what Hogarth is objecting to is an assumed colonisation of Arabia by Egyptians; our contention is that migration actually occurred in the opposite direction, and instead of searching for Egyptian relics in Medina, we look for, and find, relics of the incense trade in Egypt, to wit, the wall paintings and sculptures of the Punt chamber. Moreover, the reference in those inscriptions to Min as the Lord of Punt, and to Punt as the home of the incense trees, is not invalidated by the contention of Hogarth that Punt is somewhere else than in Arabia. The initial mistake was in looking for Egyptian colonies in Arabia. We agree with Hogarth that Yathrib is not Egyptian. At the same time we would not go so far as to say that no Egyptian colonies existed on the eastern side of the Red Sea. Ptolemy himself suggests (and we have seen how accurate his locations are) a town named Thebes, somewhat to the south of Iambia (Yambo). We shall try to make a link between the Egyptian Thebes and the Bœotian, but we must not hastily conclude that a similar Egyptian colony might not have been found in the Red Sea. Let it suffice, for the present, to have shown that the Arabians were in evidence on the Nile at the Southern Athribis, just as the Jews were at Syene and the first cataract. The Arabian connection with Punt was by way of the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb, and it was necessary for the reinforcement of the incense market from which they supplied the world. So there may have been a commercial reason why Min became the Lord of Punt. The traffic in incense was still in existence in the time of Strabo, when the Arabian dealers were in connection with Somaliland by way of the Strait.

Assuming that we have established the existence of S. Arabian colonies in Egypt and in the Mediterranean let us leave the investigation of Hadramyttium and its possible sister colonies, and raise a similar question regarding Egypt; for it certainly seems unlikely that the Minæan kingdoms of S. Arabia should form colonies in the Mediterranean, and the greater and more ancient kingdom of Egypt remain entirely self-contained. One might as easily conceive it possible to stop the Nile from discolouring the waters of the Mediterranean, as imagine Egyptian influence confined within the Nile valley.[1]

[1] E.g. What are we to say of such a statement as this in Smith's *Dict. of Ancient Geography, s.v.* Crete: "No proof of Egyptian colonisation can be adduced; and from the national character *it is probable that settlers of pure Egyptian blood never crossed the Ægean.*"

Indeed, when we begin to shake ourselves loose from the traditional historical view, according to which Egypt contained a non-migrant population, and ask ourselves why we should accept such an antecedent improbability, we see Byblos in Syria rising before us, with its tradition of migrant divinities, and its recently uncovered treasure of Egyptian sculptures. Certainly Byblos was a colony; the gods do not travel unattended.

The ancients appear to have been well aware that the connection of Isis with Byblos was commercial as well as religious. For instance, in the *Etymologicum Magnum* we have the following statement:—

"*Byblos.* Some say that when Isis arrived from Egypt, and was wailing over Osiris, she deposited there the diadem of her head, which was made of papyrus (*βύβλινον ὑπάρχον*), being so named from the papyrus which grows in the Nile (*ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ φυομένης βύβλου*)."

Closely parallel to this is the statement of Stephanus of Byzantium, who gives in his *De Urbibus* two or three derivations for the name of the city. He says:—

"*Byblos.* The most ancient of all the Phœnician towns, being the foundation of Kronos, having derived its name from Byblē the daughter of Miletus. But it had its title of Byblos, from the fact that any ancient book was preserved there undamaged (*βίβλου φυλακὴν ἀσινέα ἐν ταύτῃ γενέσθαι*). But some say that in that city Isis, when wailing over Osiris, deposited her diadem, and this was a papyrus crown (*βύβλινον*),[1] made from the Egyptian plant (?) which the Nile used to produce in the marshes (*ἀπὸ τῆς φυλῆς τῆς Αἰγυπτίης ἧς ἀνέτρεφε Νεῖλος ἐν τοῖς ἕλεσι*).

A comparison of Stephanus' language with that of the *Etymologicum* will show that both writers are struggling with a word, which required either correction or explanation. The troublesome vocable suggested *φυλή, φύομαι, φυλακή.* It is not easy to decide the original form. At all events the early tradition is clear that Byblos was a paper-town and this was the reason why Isis wore a straw hat on her arrival in the city.

Here is another early intimation of the extent of the commerce between Egypt and Byblos. In the papyrus document known as the

[1] The text is in some confusion.

Admonitions of Ipuwer, which is preserved at Leiden, and represents a composition of the twelfth Egyptian dynasty, we have either a record or a prophecy of a time when the social order in Egypt was threatened with disintegration. In the course of his *Admonitions* the sage breaks out as follows :—

> "Men sail not northward to Byblos to-day. What shall we do for cedar for our mummies, with the produce of which priests are buried, and with the oil of which (chiefs) are embalmed ?"

Upon which Gardiner notes :[1] "It is now well known that Byblos was the port from which the Egyptians sought access to the Lebanon."

It will hardly be suggested that all the trade between Egypt and Byblos was in one direction ; there must have been exports from Egypt as well as imports into Egypt, amongst the former we may clearly reckon the various papyrus fabrics, and it is these that have given a name to the city. The traffic to which we refer appears to have been known to Homer, as we shall presently see.

We have suggested above that Byblos was, originally, an Egyptian settlement or colony. We deduced this from the religious history of the migration of Isis in search of her husband's relics, and from the archæological evidence which is furnished by the excavations, in process at present, on the spot. The same conclusion might be reached by another method of enquiry. Following the analogy furnished by the existence of factories or emporia, places where special articles of commerce were deposited and from which they were distributed, it is clear that the name Byblos, which is a variant of the Greek *papyrus*, implies a *Paper-town*, a centre for the traffic in a variety of articles made from the great Egyptian reed. We do not then look for a place-name in Egypt, from which Byblos might be derived. For, as in the case of Myra and Smyrna, we have the name of a product instead. In this connection it is interesting to remember that the papyrus plant furnishes such various products as shoes, sails, cordage, etc., besides the chief product, the paper made from the pith of the reed. To any of these products the adjective Byblian (*βύβλινος*) might be applied.

For instance, in the *Odyssey*, when the hero is preparing to take his revenge upon the suitors, who have, in his absence, been eating

[1] Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, Leipzig, 1909, p. 33.

up his substance, we have a situation which Butler summarises as follows :—

> "Philœtius slipped out and secured the gate of the outer court with a ship's cable of Byblos fibre that happened to be lying beside it."

Notice that Byblos is written with a capital letter ; it is much the same as saying "with a Manilla rope." Merry's note on this peculiar *βύβλινος* is to the following effect :—

> "Βύβλινον, a rope of byblos" is probably one made from a plant of that name, similar in character to the Egyptian papyrus. Such ropes might well find their way into Greece through the Phœnician traders."

But if our conclusion be correct, and the word *Byblos* but a variant form of *papyrus*, there is no need to distinguish between two kinds of ropes or plants. They are one. Nor is there any necessity to introduce the Phœnicians at all, if the town of Byblos was a true Egyptian colony. The Egyptians so situated would be able to sell papyrus ropes on their own account, either to Phœnicians or Greeks. It is quite likely, then, that Butler was right in spelling Byblos with a capital letter. As our knowledge of Egyptian life and history grows, we may expect to find more of their emporia and settlements in the Mediterranean. For instance there is another Thebes, close to Adramyttium ; here we may find the Egyptian and S. Arabian colonists almost side by side.

We will now go in search, in more northern latitudes, of further sanctuaries or antiquities, which may suggest colonisation from the south. Let us try if we can make connection between Thebes in Egypt and Thebes in Bœotia.

We will first examine some Theban literature of the south, contained in Egyptian hymns of the time of Amenophis the third. We shall find traces of twin-cult in Egypt which suggest a parallel with the twin-cult that we know to have prevailed in Bœotia.

A person who begins the study of Egyptology very soon finds out that the Egyptian religion does not present a uniform face to his observation. That it is an evolution out of a primitive savagery, comparable with what we are able to recognise in existing African religions, becomes apparent on even a superficial survey ; but this

evolution is inconsistent; it varies from place to place as well as from time to time. Egyptian religion is not the same up the Nile from any point as it is down the Nile; more remarkable still, it does not present consistently the same features on opposite banks of the river, where the populations are in early times not only hostile but of alien religious sentiments, worshipping different deities under diverse forms. This diversity has recently been accentuated by the observation that twin-cult, which is one of the earliest forms of universal religion, is not consistently represented in the Egyptian tradition. My attention was recently drawn (by my friend, the late Professor Harsley), to the evidence for Egyptian twin-cult furnished by one of the early religious hymns, addressed to the Sun-god by Horus and Set, who declare themselves to have been the architects of the temples at Luxor and Thebes. There is nothing especially new about the hymn, which is considered to be of high poetical beauty, except its interpretation. It was published in 1870 by Pierret,[1] again by Birch[2] in 1885, and recently by v. Günther Roeder[3] in 1923. What is new in the interpretation lies in the fact that Horus and Set, who are the assumed authors of the Psalm, are described as (*a*) twins; and as (*b*) architects. Here, for instance, is a passage from the hymn in question :—

> "SET the architect, and HORUS the architect, he says: I was a superintendent in thy temple, an architect in thy sanctuary, without error, in the sanctuary which thy beloved son Amenophis iii has built for thee (Amon-Ra). My lord had commanded me to carry out thy building; because he knew my vigilance. . . .
>
> Never do I take joy in lying words; my joy is in my brother, who is like to myself in kind; over whose thoughts I have joy; since we came together out of the mother's womb, SET the architect and HORUS the architect."

Putting aside the curious alternation between the "I" of the first person singular and the "We" of the plural, the text is quite decisive as to the twinship of Set and Horus, as to their architectural gifts, and as to their being the patrons of truthfulness.[4] The hymn resolves itself into a prayer in which the twins explain that one of them was

[1] *Recueil des travaux egypt. et assyr.*, i., pp. 70-72.
[2] *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Archeol.*, vol. viii., pp. 143 ff.
[3] *Urkunden zur Religion des alten Ägypten*, pp. 9-12.
[4] A point to which my friend, Dr. Rutherfurd, draws my attention.

architect on the right bank of the Nile, i.e., in Luxor; the other on the left bank, i.e., in Thebes. Now we must face certain difficulties of interpretation: first, that Horus and Set are not brothers in the ordinary Temple-lore of Egypt; second, they are not friendly, but hostile. Set is the uncle of Horus; he kills Osiris, who is the father of Horus, and is himself slain by Horus, or, at least, roughly handled, in revenge for his father's death. The story of the quest for the scattered limbs of Osiris is amongst the best-known elements of Egyptian religion.

It is clear that the conventional Egyptian story can never have given rise to a cult in which Set and Horus were similar to one another, and actually twins by birth. Consequently we must infer that the story of Set and Horus has come down on two different lines of evolution. It is well known that twins in early religion are sometimes friendly (as Castor and Pollux), and sometimes hostile (as Romulus and Remus, or Cain and Abel, or Esau and Jacob), and in West Africa we may sometimes find adjacent tribes making opposite interpretation of twins, as for example, that they are beneficent, or that they are hostile to the community. In the Theban Hymn the twins are certainly friendly, yet we notice that they operate on opposite banks of the Nile, which often denotes hostility. In any case the inconsistency in the interpretation should be noticed. It looks as if the official twins of the Egyptian system were originally Osiris and Set; in which case the maxim that "Twin kills Twin" would be exactly illustrated.

Now with regard to their being architects of cities, temples, etc.

This is one of the first characteristics of the primitive twin-cult that was discovered; it was noted in the case of Florus and Laurus, the martyred architects from Byzantium, in the case of Zethus and Amphion, the builders of the Greek Thebes, of Romulus and Remus, the founders of Rome, and in other cases, for which we may refer to the pages of my book *Boanerges*, in which connection we must not forget that in the *Acts of Thomas*, Judas Thomas, who is described as the Lord's twin-brother, is the architect who knows how to build tombs and temples, and who actually takes service under king Gondofar to build him a palace. The affirmation of the twins as to their common passion for truthfulness is another feature which had already come to light in several directions. We recall the sanctity

of oaths taken by Castor and Pollux or by St. Thomas the Apostle, or of contracts taken in their sanctuaries. There can be no doubt that we have recovered in this Egyptian hymn a fragment of ancient twin-lore. The result is valuable, because it adds definite evidence to the suspicions which had been aroused by finding twin-priestesses in the sanctuaries at Memphis and at Thebes.

We come now to an interesting point in relation to some modern enquiries made by Professor W. J. Perry in his book, *The Children of the Sun*, as to the meaning of a certain dual element which can be detected in Egyptian government and religion. Mr. Perry finds something of the same kind in a number of vanished civilisations lying both East and West of Egypt, and makes the recurrence of such duality an argument for the dependence of these lost helio-cultures (as he calls them) upon the archaic civilisation of the Nile Valley. Thus he says that "Horus and Set in Egyptian mythology are usually represented as hostile, though, in some pyramid texts, they are friendly. These two beings are connected with Upper and Lower Egypt, respectively, and evidently the hostility between them has some historical significance."[1] The implication appears to be that it is really the two hostile countries, Upper and Lower Egypt, that are responsible for the duality of Egyptian culture. As soon, however, as we add the discovery that they were thought of as twins, to the fact, rightly registered by Professor Perry, that Set and Horus are sometimes friendly, and sometimes hostile, we are no longer obliged to explain their concords or discords in terms of the Egyptian history. We should do better in Uganda or on the Niger. In folk-lore the Niger is an earlier river than the Nile. On the last page of his book Professor Perry shows that he has been reading *Boanerges* (see *The Children of the Sun* (1923), p. 502), and that he is not without a hope that his investigations may be correlated with my own. It is, however, evident at a glance that the twin-cult of which I speak is not Egyptian twin-cult but a much wider and earlier region of human speculation, whose home was in the mind of man, probably long before the Nile valley was formed or the Delta deposited : and it is generally true of these investigations into the wanderings of *The Children of the Sun*, that they need to be taken into much deeper levels.

[1] *Children of the Sun*, p. 431.

At the same time I am not using the occasion for a negative criticism of Mr. Perry's work; it may even turn out that I bring him some positive reinforcement. For example, if the twins (Set and Horus) are the architects of the Egyptian Thebes, as we know the twins (Zethus and Amphion) to have been of the Greek Thebes, we have one more suggestion for a dependence of one Thebes upon the other, and of the Bœotian culture upon the Egyptian. May it not be the case that Zethus, the rough brother of the Theban pair, is actually Set, whom Plutarch transcribes as ζῆθ? The earliest known form of the name Zethus is given us in a Pæan of Pindar—himself a Bœotian: here Thebes is spoken of as

Κάδμου στράτον καὶ ξεάθου πόλιν
—Pindar: *Pæans*, viii., 44 (in Pap. Oxyr. vol. 5).

And the metre makes the reading ζέαθος quite certain.

Assuming that we have recovered an earlier form of the name, it is natural to suggest that we have here a transliteration of a word with three consonants of which the middle one was silent like the Hebrew א or the Egyptian *a*: we should write it in Hebrew as זאת, but we do not know of any such Hebrew name. Bearing in mind, however, that the Egyptian language resembles the Hebrew in its consonantal character, we must ask whether *zꜣt* is good Egyptian. There is no *z* in the Egyptian language, but just as the Hebrew זאב (wolf) is supposed to be the equivalent of the Egyptian *sꜣb* (jackal), the Greek form ζῆθος may be the equivalent of the Egyptian *sꜣt* (Set). In that case the Theban twins, Set and Horus, have migrated to the Greek Thebes, and the one city is named after the other, just as the one twin is the transliteration of the other. The Greek tradition is to the effect that Thebes was founded by Cadmus, and this has been taken to mean that it was, at the first, a Phœnician colony. We must go further afield, therefore, than the mythical Cadmus, if we are to find the Theban origins, for, as we have said, one Thebes is the colony of the other. The first stratum of Bœotian civilisation is Egyptian.

It need hardly be said that, as in the case of Hadramyttium, proof of the existence of one colonial centre will set us on the search for others. We shall have, as we noted in our comment on Professor Margoliouth, to enquire whether the Greek Abydos is not a colonial double of the Egyptian holy city Abydos, and whether Carnac in

Brittany may not have taken its name from Karnak at Luxor, and then we must pass to the subject, in general, of Egyptian civilisation in the Mediterranean.

It is interesting, in conclusion, to point out that the Egyptian Psalm from which we made our start on the journey from Thebes to Thebes has had an external influence, and re-acted on the Hebrew Psalter. Some of its lines recall the well-known phrases of the 27th Psalm. The Egyptian text runs thus :—

> " I was the overseer on the West bank of the Nile, and he upon the East bank ; we both had the oversight of great buildings in Karnak and in the circuit of Thebes, the city of Amon. Grant unto me, O Amon, an old age in thy city, while I may behold thy beauty, and then be buried in the West, the place of the rest of the heart (? the heart's desire). Then I shall be united to those that are extolled, etc."

The parallel is, of course, the 27th Psalm of the Hebrew Psalter :—

> " One thing have I desired of Jahveh ;
> That will I seek after :
> That I may dwell in the house of Jahveh
> All the days of my life :
> To behold the beauty of Jahveh,
> And to enquire in his temple."

We are in the same circle of ideas in the two Psalms ; life is asked for, and long life, in the temple of the deity, and the temple is the outward symbol of the invisible Beauty and Splendour of the god.

It is customary with the makers of Classical atlases to indicate the spread of Greek and Phœnician colonisation by special maps, which show by underlinings in colour where settlements were formed by Corinth or Phocis or Tyre and Carthage. We have now added to their responsibility the duty of intimating the diffusion of S. Arabian colonies in the Mediterranean and in Egypt, and of Egyptian colonies in the Mediterranean and possibly in Arabia. At this point a new question arises. We are making use of place-names as sure guides to the location and migration of peoples, and have shown how such place-names express the home-lands (as in Hadramaut), and the products of the home-lands (as in Byblos). These are instances of colonies formed by settled peoples. We cannot in this connection

write down the S. Arabians as Nomadic ; they were a powerful people, and one of the great kingdoms of early times. Hadramaut is not a name associated with a tribe, but with a strong people, sending out traders and colonisers in all directions.

But how shall we trace the movements of nomadic peoples who have no goods to sell, and no homeland, from which to name the new land, on which they ultimately settle ? Only by the name of the tribe itself. In the time of Cæsar, for instance, the population of Northern Europe was largely composed of tribes and peoples in motion under various forms of economic pressure. Such groups may turn up anywhere, but they will, unless they cease to be nomadic, leave no historic trace. We may write the Kelts across Galatia, and find a settlement across the Galata Bridge in Constantinople ; the names will suggest their transition from motion to rest, but we cannot call them colonies, though they are numerous enough in the East to form a great people. In the West, however, we find the nomadic tendency disappearing ; and if we are right in our account of the Southern Gauls, they finally formed real colonies in Sicily and elsewhere. Colonisation follows rapidly upon settlement.

Let us look at a map of an earlier type than is common in Classical atlases. It is known, now, that at one time the people of the Hittites constituted the third great empire of the Near East, dividing rule with Egypt and Assyria. The fact of empire implies that they have ceased to be nomads. Carchemish is almost as great a city as Babylon. Had they, we ask, any colonies ? Can they be traced, in strange lands, by the names of cities or of districts, or by the products of their industries ? Can we duplicate Carchemish as we have multiplied Thebes ? Is there any town bearing a Hittite name in Western Asia Minor or in Palestine ?

In view of our ignorance of Hittite language and affairs, such questions are not easily answered ; but when we remember how slow we have been to recognise the fact of Egyptian colonisation, in spite of the existence of proofs, it is only reasonable to suppose that if we search for them, we shall find traces of the Hittite Empire in the West or South. Here is one instance, in confirmation. Ptolemy, in his geographical enumerations, tells us of a town in Libyan whose name he gives as Hettaia (Χεττα*ία*) ; that is exactly *Hittite*, and this fact suggests that the Hittites were not land-dwellers only. Some of

them, at all events, had gone to sea, and had found a settlement on the Libyan coast, in the same way as the S. Arabians and the Phœnicians.[1]

If we are right in thus interpreting Ptolemy, who knew as little of the Hittite empire as Herodotus, we are able at once to contradict Professor Garstang's dictum that "we see the Hittites as a purely inland people, not taking to the sea more kindly at any rate than do the Turkish peoples of to-day."[2]

It is evident that, if Garstang's idea of an inland and non-sea-going Hittite people can be shown to be incorrect, that the over-seas activity can as little be limited to a single Libyan village as the activity of the S. Arabians to a single Ægean sea-port. We do not say positively that there might not have been a deportation of Hittite prisoners by the Egyptians who conquered them in Northern Syria, but it is certainly very unlikely. Nor do we say that a group of Hittite colonists could not have come round from Asia to Africa by land, but again, it does not seem probable. We do say, however, that the group of Hittite colonists in Libya may fairly be regarded as having come there by water, say from the gulf of Alexandretta or from the mouth of the Orontes. But in that event how could they have avoided Cyprus? They had successfully occupied Cilicia and N. Syria, and were in touch with Egypt apparently by sea and land. It would not be possible for them to ignore Cyprus.

In the documents from Tell-el-Amarna, which have done so much to change our ideas as to the relations that existed between the great empires of the East, and particularly of the Hittite and Egyptian empires, which were at one time contiguous in Northern Syria, as far as outposts can make frontiers, we have what looks like a cry of distress from a Cypriote ruler to the king of Egypt. He begs the latter to have no dealings with the Hittites. Accordingly Breasted says:—[3]

> "Active trade intercourse between this kingdom [the Hittites] and Egypt had reached such proportions that the king of Cyprus was apprehensive lest too close relations between

[1] Ptolemy, iv. 5 (ed. Müller, i. p. 678).
[2] Garstang, *The Land of the Hittites*, p. 2.
[3] *Hist. of Egypt*, p. 381.

Egypt and the Hittite kingdom (Great Kheta) might endanger his own position."

The king who is actually mentioned is the king of an unknown principality called Alysia, and a reference to Breasted's map will show that he identifies Alysia with Cyprus. If the identification is correct, Cyprus was in fear of Hittite migration; evidently it was thought a very likely thing to happen. But even if this identification should prove erroneous, there is, as we shall now show, a link of a geographical nature that seems to connect the Hittites with Cyprus.

It has long been recognised that one of the oldest settlements in the island is the town of Kition in the S.E. corner, nearly the situation of the modern Larnaka: and it has been commonly assumed from the nearness of this point to the Phœnician coast, as well as from the existence of Phœnician inscriptions, that Kition was a Phœnician colony. Against this conclusion doubts have been expressed in various quarters. Gesenius, long before the re-discovery of the Hittite empire, tried to connect the name with the Biblical *Kittim*, whom he assumed to be Canaanites; others, from Max Müller onward, observing the importance of the Hittite factor in the history of the N.E. angle of the Mediterranean, suggested a connection between the Kittim of the Bible and the Kheta of the Egyptian documents, which describe the struggle between Rameses the Second, and the king of the Hittites, and the subsequent treaty of peace between them after the battle of Kadesh. The Biblical Ḥeth, the Egyptian Kheta, the Ḥatti of the Hittite tablets, and the Biblical Kittim are all variant descriptions of the same people; and Kition in Cyprus is not to be regarded as originally a Phœnician town, but as a Phœnician colony which has displaced an earlier settlement, formed when the Hittites controlled all that angle of the Mediterranean, and when they were already, as we have suggested, a sea-going people, forming foreign connections outside Asia Minor.

The discovery of the Hittite settlements on the Libyan coast throws light upon the last attack which the Hittites made upon the power of Egypt. Dr. Cowley states the case as follows:—[1]

"From Egyptian sources we learn that the Hittites took part in an invasion of Egypt from the sea in the reign of

[1] *Schweich Lectures on the Hittites*, p. 14.

> Rameses III (twelfth century). They were no longer, however, the leading power among the allies. They merely joined in an attack which was organized from the west. It failed, and this was the last time they came into contact with Egypt."

If the Hittites were already in possession of the Libyan coast to the west of Egypt, it was natural that they should be involved in the war with Egypt, equally natural that they should be in alliance with their home-land in Asia Minor. We should not be surprised if it were to be discovered that the very name of Libya is a Hittite formation.

The naval attack on Egypt shows conclusively that Garstang's idea of the Hittite as a non-sea-going people is an illusion. A people who are afraid of blue water do not establish colonies nor build a navy.

In order to find out something more about the range of these explorations and colonisations, it will be convenient to retrace our steps to the point from which we started our enquiries, viz., the existence of a trade in spices and frankincense and myrrh between S. Arabia and the Mediterranean; from this point we were led on to consider the existence of a paper trade between Egypt and the outside world, and particularly between Egypt and Byblos of Syria. It will hardly be doubted that there are more elementary needs than spices and paper, and that whatever those needs may be, if the home supply is inadequate or non-existent, there must arise trade between places where a commodity is in excess and places where it is in defect. Amongst such elementary needs, we may be sure that *Salt* has the first place. It is a requirement of such insistence that it is easy to say that one form which trade-routes will take will be a link between salt-producing and salt-requiring countries. We have, for instance, pointed out elsewhere that the Amber route, from Dantzig to Olbia on the Black Sea, was also the Salt Way from the salt marshes and salt pans at Olbia to the Amber beds in the Baltic; the necessaries of life were exchanged for the luxuries. This single instance should set us enquiring for other saline centres, from which the trade in salt might be carried on over land and sea. As soon as we state this question, one answer will be that amongst the salt-producing centres and areas, the island of Cyprus will take a front place. There is a salt lake, for instance, to the East of the ancient

Kitium (modern Kiti), which is, perhaps the oldest salt works in the world. The industry is carried on to-day, and is described in the following terms by a recent traveller :—

> "The basin (of the lake) lies about ten feet below sea-level on the shores of Larnaca Bay, which took a far-reaching semicircular bite out of the island that lessens in extent as the years roll on. The salt of this lagoon is wonderfully free from grit and has embalming and valuable medicinal properties. . . . The town, which is still known as Salines and St. Lazarus . . . (in memory of the supposed cursing of the soil by Lazarus of Bethany) lies about a mile and a half north-east of the lake, and these are but two of its names."[1]

Well, we may be sure that the salt works were not named after Lazarus, but the other name suggests immediately that the original name was *Selinūs*. We shall show that this name is Hittite in language, and that it denotes a centre for the production of salt, a lagoon, or a salt-spring or an actual deposit of salt.

First of all we notice that on the mainland of Cilicia at the point where Cyprus comes nearest to the shore is the ancient city of *Selinūs*, (*Selinunta*). Cilicia was part of the ancient Hittite Empire in the fourteenth century B.C., and we may connect *Selinūs* with the salt-works on the south of the island by making it a salt "factory" in the East India sense, just as we showed that there were spice and paper "factories" or entrepôts in the Mediterranean. At this point we may be met with a contradiction from the Grecians, who will affirm that *Selinūs* has nothing to do with salt, but that it denotes a place where the wild parsley[2] grows, whose name is *Selinós*, and that we can find the explanation confirmed by the coins of the famous city of *Selinūs* in Southern Sicily, where the parsley leaf can actually be seen on the ancient coins of the place. Unfortunately for this point of view there are too many rivers, lakes and marshes which bear the name of *Selinūs*, and we can hardly believe that the whole of the Levant was making a geographical note of the diffusion of parsley in the names of its towns or rivers.

Let us try another case and examine it carefully; we learn from Strabo that at the mouth of the Cayster there is a lagoon, by

[1] Helen C. Gordon, *Love's Island*, p. 56.

[2] Probably also celery.

the name of *Selinusia*, and that this lake and the stream that flows (the Selinūs) into it *produce great revenues.*[1] The lagoon is connected with the sea, which flows into it. Now it will hardly be maintained that great revenues were to be collected from the merchandise of wild parsley! It is only salt that can furnish the wealth of a marsh that borders on the sea. So we infer that *Selinous* means a salt-marsh, or salt-stream or salt-spring, and has nothing botanical to say for itself. Wherever we find a place or a river of that name, we shall suspect salt, and not prospect for parsley. For instance there is the famous Sicilian town; Strabo will tell us that Sicily has many hot springs, and that some of them, *such as those at Selinus* or at Himera, *are Salt*.[2]

Evidently the Selinuntiæ Thermæ are older than the Greek city, with its assumed parsley-beds, which must be regarded as a Greek colony planted on an earlier one, much in the same way as the Greeks from Delos took over the Arabian colony of Adramyttium without changing its name. The name Selinūs comes from the Eastern end of the Mediterranean, and was not Greek at all. It was a salt-town and not a parsley-town. We have now only to observe the number of places and streams that bear the name, to make us sure that there

[1] Strabo, xiv., p. 642; viii. 387.

Readers of Xenophon will recall how he planted a park, with an altar or building in imitation of the temple of Artemis at Ephesus. The place was situated on the road from Sparta to Olympia and lay about 20 stades from the temple of Zeus at Olympia (*Anabasis*, v. 111, 7). Through the park flowed a river named Selinus, "and at Ephesus likewise a Selinus river flows past the temple of Artemis. In both places, moreover, there are fish and mussels, while, in the plot at Scillus, there is hunting of all kinds."

We have shown that the Selinus river at Ephesus had a salt-lagoon at its mouth. Did Xenophon give the name to the stream on his estate, or was there salt in it?

The passage in the *Anabasis* has recently attracted attention as being the possible source of Shakespeare's jest about the rivers in Monmouth and Macedon, and there being "salmons in both." Lieutenant Upcott, writing in the "Times Literary Supplement" for April 8, 1926, says:—

"I have always believed that Shakespeare must have read, or been told, of this quaint remark, and that he made Fluelen, a pedantic scholar, parody it. He was not concerned with the habitat of salmons."

Of course this may be so, but in that case Fluelen should be himself a parody of some living scholar. Can Lieutenant Upcott find him?

[2] *θερμῶν γοῦν ὑδάτων ἀναβολὰς κατὰ πολλοὺς ἔχει τόπους ἡ νῆσος, ὧν τὰ μὲν Σελινοῦντα καὶ τὰ Ἱμεραῖα ἁλμυρά ἐστι.*—Strabo, 6, p. 275.

is some underlying connection between them of a philological character. So we may ask the question as to the language to which these peculiar salt names must be referred. The word *Selinūs* is very nearly Latin; it is, as it stands, almost *Salinus*. It cannot, however, be Latin, for it is a Greek colony, dating, perhaps, from as early as 628 B.C.; neither can it be Greek, for in that case it would be formed on the basis of ἅλς, ἅλατος. We have, then, to find an Indo-Germanic language which is neither Greek nor Latin, but which is philologically nearer to the Latin than the Greek, and geographically nearer to the Greek than the Latin. At this point Hrozny comes to our aid, and finds us such startling forms as a Hittite relative and interrogative form *Kuis*, *Kuit*, *Kuiskuis*, etc. So we need not be surprised if *Selinūs* (*Selinunta*) should mean *Salt-town* in Asia Minor.

Now let us return to our first identification of the Hittites on the Libyan coast. It is *a priori* unlikely that the identified town is the only Hittite centre on that sea-board. So we turn to Ptolemy, and to the related *Stadiasmus maris magni*, and examine the neighbouring localities: for example:—

Stadiasmus.	*Ptolemy.*	lat.	long.
Σελινοῦς	Σελινοῦς	56	31,10
Τυνδάρειοι σκόπελοι	Τ. σκ. γ′	55,50	31,30
	Ζαγυλὶς κώμη	55,45	31,30
Χαυταῖον	Χεττατία κώμη	55,30	31,10
Ζυγραί	Ζυγρὶς κώμη	55,15	31,10
Ἐννησίφορα	Αἰνησίφυρα λιμήν	55	31,10

Here we find again a town *Selinūs*, almost adjacent to *Chettæa*, and we mark it as another Hittite settlement, either an actual salt centre, or a colony from one. We may now fairly say that we have found the Hittites in the Mediterranean. They have become, in spite of Professor Garstang, a sea-going people. The next question is whether we can trace them on the continent of Europe. Are there any transplanted names such as we found in N. Africa and in Sicily?

We will begin with Kition. We are informed by the classical geographers that there is a town of Macedonia of this name between Pella and Beroea, and it is affirmed that like Kition in Cyprus it is a Phœnician colony; "a colony of that nation occupied at a remote period the most desirable of all districts at the head of the Thermaic

Gulf." We have already claimed priority for the Hittites over the Phœnicians in Cyprus, and it is quite possible that we may do the same in Macedonia. In that case we have planted them in Europe. This ought not to surprise us, in view of the fact that we had already found their salt works in the neighbourhood of Ephesus, and, by the way, there is another river *Selinus* in Mysia. It looks like migration made easy. But what shall we say when we find a place named *Selinus* not far to the east of Sparta? We will leave it to the Hellenists to prove that it was a parsley-town, and to identify the spot for us.

The identification of Selinous as at once Hittite and Salt-centre is confirmed by the observation that there was a traffic in salt between the coast of Libya and the desert on the way to the famous temple of Jupiter Ammon. The references to this traffic in early writers, from Herodotus onward, are abundant; and the salt obtained from thence was regarded by the ancients as of great purity and much superior to sea-salt. It stands to reason that the Hittites, whom we have proved to have occupied the Libyan coast, did not carry salt to Selinous, any more than owls would be transported to Athens; they went there to develop the salt industry in the Mediterranean. They came near to being salt monopolists as well as salt merchants.

While we are discussing this side of Hittite life, it may be well to remind ourselves that there was another salt-centre in Cyprus, beside the salt that was and is dug out at Larnaka (Gk. λάρναξ). This second centre was Salamis, and here the salt was obtained by the evaporation of sea-water, and was of inferior quality. Yet it appears also to have been an export centre, whatever may be the philological relation between Selinous and Salamis; and the derivations which have been current for Salamis must be replaced by one in which the first syllable is the ground-form. It will be asked how this affects Salamis near Athens? It should be a Hittite export entrepôt, or a place where the Hittites taught the Greeks the manufacture of sea-salt. The name is non-Hellenic, if the foregoing remarks are correct.

We come now to a much more difficult piece of research. If we are right in bringing the Hittites into Europe, and turning them back from a self-contained nation into a nomadic people, or at least a nation with colonies, will there be any analogy between the history of the

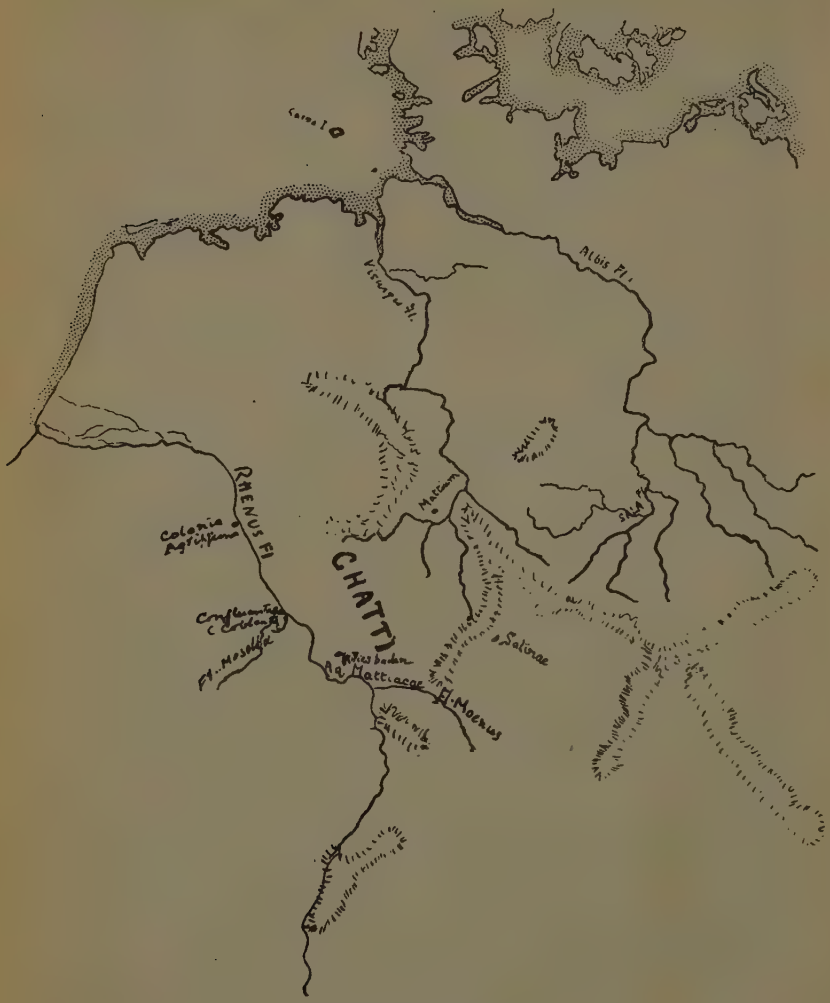
Hittite migrations, and those of the Cimbri or of the Kelts; we recall the case of the Kelts and of their settlement and final isolation in Galatia, as far as possible from Gaul or Ireland. And the Cimbri; are they the Kimmerians of Homer, and are they the same people who burned Sardis? did they really live in Jutland? We are clear, at all events, with regard to the Kelts; and it has been claimed in a recent book, which is so full of eccentric matter as almost to defy criticism, that the tribe of the *Chatti*, whom the Romans found on the other side of the Rhine in the neighbourhood of Mainz, and whom they had some difficulty in subduing, were not Germans at all, but a survival from a Hittite migration.[1] Strabo actually calls them Χάττοι and has an adjacent tribe named Χαττουάριοι. Their name is said, by some scholars, to survive in the modern *Hesse* (earlier *Hassen*), the province which most nearly defines their European location.

When we come to discuss the possibility that the Chatti in Rhineland are the same as the Hittites, we do not have to face any *a priori* contradiction; the names are certainly equivalent, so that if there is any prejudice, it is in favour of the belief that they are ethnologically related. It has, however, been commonly taken for granted that the Chatti are either of Keltic or Germanic origin, and not to be distinguished from other Teutonic or Keltic tribes such as the Suevi, the Batavi, or their next-door neighbours, the Cherusci, or the Hermanduri. Accordingly the Western philologists have conjectured that the name means either a *cat*-tribe (an admirable totem indeed!); or that it means a *warrior*-tribe (which one would suppose to be too general a description to make definition), and when they found personal names like *Catomērus* for the chieftain of the tribe, they had no difficulty in explaining the suffix as the Keltic word *great* (mar, mōr), so that the tribe were either *great warriors* or *great cats*, all of which has an amateurish look, even when put forward by great scholars.

Let us first make a little map of the locality where the Chatti were found, when the Romans invaded Germany. They occupied, as we have said, the province of Hesse (Hassen), that is the district between the Rhine, the Main, the Saale and the Elbe. From the

[1] Lieut.-Col. Waddell: *Phœnician Origin of Britons.*

Romans we learn that their capital is *Mattium*, and it is hardly possible to dissociate this name from the *Mattiaci* who are located



LOCATION OF THE CHATTI.

just to the north of Mainz, or from the *Thermæ Mattiacæ*, whose modern equivalent is Wiesbaden. It would seem that there was something cognate between the *Chatti* and the *Mattiaci*.

Having made that statement, two facts come to light :—

(i) That there was a town of the name of *Matium* on the Cretan sea-board ; for, as Pliny says in enumerating the islands that lie off Crete to the north, " Dia is over against *Matium*."

(ii) That the Hittite treaties which have come to light from Boghaz-keui contain an agreement between the great Hittite king Subbilliuma, who was the antagonist of Rameses the Second, and a vassal or border prince, whose name was *Mattiuaza*, the king of the *Mitanni*. The suggestion naturally arises that *Mattium* is a Hittite place-name, representing in Crete a colony similar to Kitium in Cyprus, and that it occurs also in tribe names and personal names, both East and West. It must be admitted, however, that as a personal name, Mattius is widely used in the inscriptions of Central Europe ; it is found, indeed, in Asia Minor at Thyatira and in Mysia, whether from Roman officials, or possible Keltic migrations. All that we can say is that the possibility of Hittite migrations as far as the Rhine is not definitely excluded.

There are some other *Chattite* names in Tacitus, beside the *Great Cat* or whatever he was ; but as far as I can see at present, they do not lend themselves to elucidation.

The practical evidence of the salt way and the amber route from the Black Sea to the Baltic is not an isolated phenomenon. In the West as well as in the East of Europe, the trade lines are determined by salt and amber. In a recent article, of the first importance for the student of prehistoric civilisation, in the *Geographical Journal* for December, 1925, Mr. J. H. de Navarro has the following striking sentences ; he is discussing[1] the way in which at the opening of the Iron Age amber objects suddenly appear in large quantities at Hallstatt, while amber dating from this period has also been unearthed at Hallein. Concerning these deposits he says :—

" How did amber reach these places ? Let us deal with the latter finds first. After leaving the Danube at Passau and turning up the Inn the route passed up the latter river until it reached the place where its waters are joined by those of the *Salzach*. Here it would appear to have left the Inn and proceeded along the latter stream past *Salzburg* and Hallein. Whether amber found its way further to the south along this route I am not at present able to say ; but near

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 492.

Hallein stands a hill called the Dürrenberg, *in which a prehistoric salt mine was discovered.*" We have underlined the salt; the writer has done it for us himself in the following passage :—

"We have not far to go to find the reason which caused this south-easterly deflection from the river Inn. *It was due to the growth of the ancient salt industry*. This region, which as far as Hallstatt finds are concerned, is one of the richest in Central Europe, *abounds in salt*. . . . The reason why Hallstatt itself was so rich in antiquities was in all probability due to the salt mine in the immediate vicinity of the celebrated burial-ground, which, possibly exploited as far back as the Bronze Age, continued to be worked into the Hallstatt period."

We could hardly have a better instance of the tendency of the amber routes and the salt ways to combine. In the same way the salt deposits in Carniola are responsible for the excess of amber finds in that region.

Montelius, and Mr. de Navarro, who follows him, makes it pretty clear that one of the great trade routes from the north left the Elbe at its junction with the Saale, and followed the course of the river to the Thüringer Wald and so to the Rhine. The Saale, which the Romans appear to have known as Salas, is named from the salt of the region which it traverses, and *Halle* on the Saale has, at the present day, become one of the greatest of salt factories, and appears to have been worked from very early times. Indeed, the very name *Halle* is a salt name in a variant dialect, for we cannot ignore the fact that both *Hallstatt* and the adjacent *Hallein* involve the same form and are both of them salt centres. The curious thing about these place names is that the word for salt is in the Greek form, and not in the Latin. It will be observed that we have the same juxtaposition of Greek and Latin forms, in the fact that Hallein is adjacent to Salzburg and the river Salzach. The etymological parallelism is an interesting problem.[1]

It may be asked whether the routes marked out by Mr. de Navarro as amber routes are also Apolline routes, as I have shown in my study of the amber routes from the Eastern Baltic. The evidence is interest-

[1] The earliest record for *Hallein* appears to be in A.D. 885, in the form *Salina*, and the earliest form for *Hallstatt* is *Halazstat* in A.D. 805. See Oesterley, *Hist. geogr. Wörterbuch.*

ing that there were such Apollo stations in the west, though we may not be able to mark a long series as we can from Dantzig to Delphi. Mr. de Navarro points out a series of amber deposits along the line of the Saale, e.g. at Dieskau, south-west of Halle. But it is of peculiar interest that amber was found in a grave of the earliest Bronze Age at *Apolda*. He points out further that the amber route turned off in a westerly direction, in the Thüringian region, probably on a line through Meiningen and then to *Fulda*. It seems evident that *Fulda* is only a variant for *Apolda*, and we suggest that the two names are consecutive stations on the amber route, similar to the Jablonov and Apollonia series in the East.

The identification which I have made above of Halle as a salt-town, and the Saale as a salt-river, is, I find, not new. It is one of the principal theses of Hehn's monograph, *Das Salz*, in which he challenged all the philological experts, including apparently Pott and Grimm, who maintained that Halle was a *portico*, or the equivalent of a *Hall*, or as Paris would say of *Les Halles*. The philological difficulty in which we found ourselves arose, according to Hehn, in the fact that the Kelts were the people who taught the use of salt to the Germanic tribes; the Kelts, in fact, had evolved, though not with complete unanimity, the *Hal* form for salt, in agreement with the early Greeks. According to Hehn, and with general acceptance, it is the Kelts who are trading in salt, and are responsible for the philological overlap with the Germanic and Roman forms.[1]

There remains, however, the possibility that it was Hittites who were responsible for the introduction of salt among the Germanic tribes. We know that the Hittite salt trade is of the highest antiquity; we traced it in Cyprus, Cilicia and Ephesus, and it may reasonably be suggested that they brought the use of salt from the great rivers and lakes in the Far East. Not only are they salt-factors, but, as we have shown, their language disclosed a form for "salt," which was Roman rather than Greek. It is not necessary to assume that the river Saale got its name from Cæsar or Germanicus or Drusus. It may easily be earlier than the Roman invasion.

[1] Hehn's illustrations from mediæval documents which constantly show such expressions as "*Salinam*, quam vulgo *hal* vocant," are decisive as to the interpretation of *Halle*. It must mean either a "salt-works," or a "salt-market."

It is interesting to find the Chatti fighting for the possession of a salt river or salt-producing area with their neighbours the Hermanduri. Tacitus, who records the dispute (*Ann.*, 13, 57), says that it was the salt of the stream for which they were fighting (*flumen gignendo sale fecundum et conterminum*), and Zeuss maintains that it was not the Saale that was the boundary in dispute, but the Werra, and that the salt was, as Tacitus suggests, obtained by throwing water impregnated with salt on a wood-fire. I find it difficult to believe that this can be the real meaning of the struggle between the Chatti and the Hermanduri. If there was a saline stream between them, it would hurt neither party, if, according to ancient custom, the water was thrown on a wood-pile. It would be quite another matter if there were salt-springs or other natural salt deposits. It seems certain that there would be a struggle for these, in times when salt was becoming a necessity of life and had almost passed into a currency.

We have shown, then, that the trade-route, whether for salt or amber, passed up the Saale and over the Thuringian forest, and, as nearly as may be, through Apolda and Fulda. Now with regard to these two names we suggest that they are parallel and almost equivalent formations, of the type which we know in Eastern Europe as Yablonov and Apollonia. It was Grimm's discovery, based on the Merseberg charms that *Phol* and *Balder* are the same person, and I have myself maintained that *Balder* is the apple-tree, which becomes personified as *Apollo*. So there is no preliminary difficulty in making a parallel between *Fulda* and *Apolda*.

The Merseberg charm for curing a horse with a sprained leg recites how Phol and Wodan went out riding, and the horse of *Phol*, who is also *Balder*, went lame. Wodan sung a charm over it, which is still good veterinary medicine.

Grimm also notes that among the Fulda traditions of gifts made to St. Boniface, a certain Count gave the Saint all the lands which he held in *Pholesbrunner*. This place Grimm identifies with *Phulsborn*, which lies not far from the Saale, equidistant from Apolda, Hornberg, and Sulza, at the same time remarking the existence of parallel formations like *Baldersbrunnen*. No doubt, then, that *Phol* and *Balder* are both at home in this area.

The early forms in which the names *Fulda* and *Apolda* occur in literature show a good deal of variation, and cause some perplexity to

the student of place-names. The peculiar termination *da* must, however, be right ; it is characteristic of the district, as in the names Roda, Lobeda, Remda, etc. What it means is, at present, an unsolved problem.

We may sum up the result of our investigations as follows :—

(i) There is evidence for S. Arabian colonisation in Egypt : (spices, cowries).

(ii) There is evidence for Egyptian colonisation in the Ægean and on the Syrian coast : (paper and papyrus products).

(iii) There is evidence for Hittite colonies in Libya and in the Mediterranean generally (salt and salt-works) : in which connection it is not excluded that Hittite migration may have reached the Rhine.

THE MIND OF POST-WAR GERMANY.[1]

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Prefatory Note.

EVERY serious student of international affairs will appreciate the extreme hazardousness of that which the present essay attempts. To chart the prevailing currents in the intellectual life of a complex contemporary civilization is difficult at any time; much more under the stormy conditions which follow a great war, one in which both the nation observed and that of the observer were engaged, on opposite sides. But it has seemed to the writer so important to make more generally accessible to English readers some characteristics of present-day Germany which war- and post-war mentality has largely obscured, and which in justice to her ought to be known, that he has faced the risk. He is himself less afraid of having been influenced by war-bias in his reading of Germany than of having been led by his profound faith in her future to interpret equivocal symptoms too confidently in the better sense. But he would emphasize the limits expressed in his title. This essay is primarily a study of the post-war *mind* of Germany, and only incidentally or by implication a study of her *mœurs*. In Germany, as everywhere else, the war removed barriers and loosened ties. The post-war years added, for her, physical suffering and nervous tension which called out in some heroic endurance and energy, but sapped in others every ethical impulse and resource. Much, if not most, of the thinking adumbrated in the following pages was done under conditions which demanded the exercise of such heroism in a high degree.

[1] An amplification of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, 10th February, 1926.

Such literature of the subject as I have used is specified in the notes. But I should like specially to acknowledge Dr. Gooch's admirable chapters on 'the German Mind' in his *Germany*, and to thank Dr. William Rose of King's College, London, and Professor J. G. Robertson of University College, for the loan of books. Dr. Rose has also kindly read the proofs.[1]

C. H. H.

The German Mind since the War.

Summary.

I. The Catastrophe of 1918-19. The menace of disruption. Loose structure of the German polity. Pp. 363-6.

II. The problem of order. The Left and Right wings. Pp. 366-72.

III. The sources of German stability. Some elements of her Kultur: Administration; Technology; Education. Pp. 372-4.

IV. The German Universities after the War: Illustration from Historical Science. The School of E. TROELTSCH. Pp. 375-81.

V. The problem of 'a New Germany.' Divergent types of ideal. I. Revival of the German past. Cult of 'the Gothic Mind.' Romanticism. Pp. 381-4.

VI. II. Repudiation of the *ethos* of the Reich: of aggressive nationalism; racial arrogance; militarism. Criticism of 'Teutonic' race idolatry: HERTZ. Internationalism and anti-militarism in poetry, novel, and drama: WERFEL, etc.; VIEBIG; TOLLER, KAISER, UNRUH. Pp. 384-9.

VII. III. Reaction from 'Mechanization,' i., in life and society. SPENGLER'S *Untergang des Abendlandes*. Expressionist verse. The anti-capitalist drama; TOLLER, KAISER. Pp. 389-94.

VIII. The positive ideals implied in these negations. Germs of 'cosmos' in the anarchist poetry. The *Jugend-Bewegung*. Efforts to humanize industry. E. ROSENSTOCK: *Lebensarbeit in der Industrie*. Pp. 394-8.

IX. The reaction from mechanization, ii., in *mind and thought:* revolt from traditionalism in scholarship, and dogma. OTTO: *Das Heilige*. KEYSERLING: *Reisetagebuch eines Philosophen*. ZIEGLER: *Der Gestaltwandel der Götter*. Pp. 398-402.

X. Epilogue: WALTHER RATHENAU. Pp. 403-6.

I.

Few modern nations have suffered a catastrophe which subjected all the bonds of national cohesion to so terrible a strain as Germany, between November, 1918 and June, 1919, suffered from the military

[1] Owing to the absence of the writer abroad, it was unfortunately impossible for him to avail himself of Dr. Rose's suggestions.

overthrow, the blockade, the revolution, and the dictated Peace. Up to the eve of the Armistice the mass of the people were confident of victory. Suddenly, they had to face the problem not merely of recovery, but of continuing to exist.

Let us consider for a moment how extraordinary the problem was. In the first place, Germany, so recently the mightiest of European powers, was no ancient, consolidated realm, welded together by centuries of proud and conscious nationhood ; no commonwealth united by ages of common action, in war and peace, in the making of laws, the founding of colonies, the building of empire. As a race she was ancient, and clung with tenacity to her ancient traditions ; but as a nation she was new and raw, and her venerable traditions made but poor cement for the too freshly baked bricks of her fifty-years empire. What did it avail that she had destroyed the legions of Augustus at the beginning of the Christian era, centuries before England became a kingdom ; or that her Franks had given their name to her future rival beyond the Rhine, together with a ruler of legendary grandeur, the German Cæsar of a new Roman empire, Charles the Great ? or that the German emperor of the Middle Ages was in theory God's Vicegerent of the universe in temporal things, as the Pope in spiritual things ? All this did not prevent the mediæval German empire from being a phantom, which did penance at Canossa, was shattered to pieces in the wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and finally expired by the fiat of Napoleon in 1802.

The new Germany had to be built up afresh out of a mere fragment of that empire, the mark Brandenburg ; only reaching in the Prussia of Frederick the Great, in the middle of the eighteenth century, the coherence of a nation. But Frederick's Prussia occupied not more than one-third of the Germany of to-day ; and the remaining two-thirds, including most of the Rhine lands and the whole of the South, formed a loose aggregate, in part forcibly annexed, like Hanover, in part reluctantly bought by large concessions, like Bavaria ; states for the most part inveterately 'particularistic' in their political sentiments, and only in crises of intense enthusiasm or peril, willing to set aside their 'state' patriotism and to think and act as members of a German nation.

No doubt this loosely-knit political aggregate, to which the genius of Bismarck had for a generation given a semblance of greater

structural coherence than it possessed, had an inner, spiritual nexus of great tenacity. It had the bond of a common language, one not very flexible or graceful, but unsurpassed in 'home-felt' sincerity, and unmatched in subtle profundity, among the tongues of Europe; of a common literature of poetry and philosophy which had changed the currents of European thought and compelled the nineteenth century to reinterpret its own experience; it had in the Nibelungenlied the noblest epic of the middle age; it had a scarcely comparable wealth of folk-song, still ringing out to-day in every corner of the land; and it had an entirely incomparable wealth of musical creation.

But neither these spiritual bonds, nor the stress of common national peril, availed to overcome the disruptive effect of the sudden shattering of the fabric of empire. Bavaria, always resentful of its subordination to Prussia in the Reich, became immediately a seat of violent tension; the Rhinelands, fervently Catholic, and still acutely mindful of Bismarck's *Kulturkampf*, temperamentally, too, more akin to their French neighbours than to their Prussian fellow-countrymen, might even have claimed autonomy, had not the incredible folly of those French neighbours, by their paid and manufactured figment of separatism, fanned the sparks of German patriotism into a flame of national passion.

And to these political and religious sources of division must be added two others, not less formidable, derived from the economic ground-work of the national life. There is, first, the division between agriculture and industry. East of the Elbe Germany is a land of peasants and great estates; while West Prussia is the seat of the most intense and concentrated manufacturing activity in Europe. And these two populations are in reality what the agricultural and industrial areas of Great Britain were called by the authors of *Coningsby* and *North and South*, but can only by a bold figure be said to be—two 'nations': the peasant, a hundred years behind the artisan in political intelligence, still subject to the feudal tyranny of Junkerdom, bound by customary ways prescribed by his lord, and in other respects showing the dint of the manacles from which he had been nominally released little more than a hundred years ago.

But the industrial 'nation' is itself divided into two not less alien elements by the standing antagonism between social democracy and capital. Each, before the war, had reached a point of intellectual

equipment and productive fertility unequalled in Europe. The Social democrats had a powerful, if ultimately fallacious, reasoned creed, a philosophy of economics elaborated with all the resources of Hegelian logic by the masterful brain of Karl Marx. They alone consistently opposed in the Reichstag not only the government but the imperial system itself, and their party, alternately persecuted and courted by Bismarck, steadily grew in numbers and power. No other country possessed a socialist party comparable in diffused ability to that of Germany. There if anywhere the Marxian doctrine that wealth is the product of labour seemed destined to make headway. But it was Germany, too, that in those same years of the Bismarckian empire gave the most dazzling demonstration of the ability of capital, armed with science, invention, and organizing technique, to create fabulous wealth for the individual capitalist and a livelihood at least for armies of workers. The generation before the war saw the building up of the colossal enterprises which, under men like Krupp, Siemens, and Ballin, won for their country hegemony in metal work, electricity, and ocean shipbuilding.

II.

We can now appreciate the effect of the sudden, and for almost the entire nation unexpected blow of November, 1918. Disasters far more complete and decisive than this have welded the defeated nation into a heroic unity like that of Rome after Cannæ. But Germany, her normal looseness of cohesion aggravated by prolonged suffering of body and mind, could not emulate the tribal simplicity which sinks all dissension at the cry 'the enemy is at the gates!' On the contrary, for perhaps half the nation, defeat was a release; and for a large section the humiliation of the army was a triumph. They hailed it as the fall of militarism. The army itself was permeated by a temper which prompted it to side with the revolution rather than to suppress it.[1]

[1] The account which follows is largely based upon the authoritative though communistically biassed book of Mr. Philips Price, *Germany in Transition*. Mr. Price witnessed the whole 'transition' in Berlin, from the end of Nov., 1918. The demeanour of the returning army in the streets of Berlin is vividly described by R. Schickele, *Der Neunte November*. Bernhard Kellermann's novel of the same title paints the final reactions of the war in Berlin society on a larger canvas with impressive power.

There was little open disorder, and almost no bloodshed, but the inner control of a state dominated more and more by military power was suddenly removed. A people deliberately left untrained in politics, and accustomed to think in terms of provincial, class, or occupational, rather than of national, interests, found itself thrown back upon its own intellectual, moral and cultural resources if it was to be saved from complete disintegration and anarchy. Those intellectual, moral, and cultural resources were, however, immense, and they were finally destined, we may venture even now to say with assurance, not merely to save Germany's integrity but to restore her greatness. But the immediate effect of the catastrophe was, none the less, an explosion of conflicting wills. The mind of Germany was in those first years more clearly than ever a function of many minds, each equipped in varying degree with the tenacity, the passion for system, and the temerity, of German mentality at large. Leaving aside the disruptive forces which threatened the adhesion of certain states,—of Bavaria, Saxony, Rhineland,—we will glance only at the aspect which the old political antagonisms assumed under the conditions, at once provocative and emancipating, brought about by the Armistice and the Revolution.

Conspicuous above all is a move of the centre of gravity to the Left. The Social-democrats, who had consistently opposed or reluctantly accepted the dominance of the military state, now became the strongest party in the country. And the great middle-class parties, including the Catholic Centre, though as little as ever disposed to socialism, shared to the full the socialists' loathing for war, and very largely their demand for arbitration, as a solution of international differences. It is reckoned that five-sixths of the first Constituent Assembly, elected early in 1919, were united in this temper. They were to be the nucleus of the new Germany. But this outward unity covered an extraordinary diversity of aims, interests, and principles, precariously allied rather than reconciled. And at either extreme there was explosive material. At the one stood the body of Communists, encouraged by the triumph of Bolshevism, organized on its model in 1917, and determined to bring about by revolution the overthrow of the capitalist system. At the other extreme stood the mass of the officers of the defeated armies and whatever remained of feudal Germany in the castles and manor-houses of Junkerdom ; with a multitude of the

elderly and the once well-to-do in all parts of the land who had grown up and thriven in the glories of the Kaiserreich, and could not believe that these had gone for ever.

Both these extreme parties were in violent antagonism to the government, and to the spirit of the republic as embodied, a few months after the armistice, in the Weimar Constitution; both attempted to make themselves masters of the state by violence. But in moral and intellectual weight, if not in political importance, the two 'revolutionary' parties are by no means comparable. The nationalist reaction has been, and still remains, the more dangerous. Its principal seat, Bavaria, has been the focus of monarchist agitation, fostered by political jealousy of Prussia, by the peasants' hatred of industry, by the Catholic hatred of Protestants, and by the insidious intrigues of France. And nationalism had a base ally—the dregs of its heady cup—in the anti-semitism excusable only in ignorant peasants exploited by the economically capable Jew; a hideous superstition, fomented by an illusory race-consciousness, which was to strike down at the height of their powers and of their service to their country, one of the few men, and one of the fewer women, of commanding genius in the war period, Walther Rathenau and Rosa Luxemburg. Had not the policy of the Allies drawn over to Nationalism thousands who saw in an appeal to arms the only means to the security of the German state, we might find the post-war mind of Germany not so much reflected as refracted in a Nationalist mentality which at its highest was a Romantic dream, at its lowest a foul and inhuman passion.

The Communist extreme had its share of weakness and illusion. But the creed which it attempted, occasionally by violence, to impose upon the country, was rooted in a philosophy, and based upon a closely argued interpretation of economic facts. In common with the whole body of German socialists, it derived from Marx, and shared to the full with them the Marxian heritage of logical method and range of sociological ideas in which German socialist literature is so much richer than that of any other country. The controversy of the communist party with the socialists sprang from their divergent theory of the destiny of the 'surplus product' of industry under the capitalist regime, and their consequently divergent attitude towards that regime itself. Whereas the 'Revisionist' and 'Centrist' groups of Socialists led by an Eduard Bernstein and an Otto Bauer,

believed that the accumulated products of a prosperous industry were ultimately diffused among the workers, and could thus make at least *ad interim* terms with capitalism, the communists insisted that these accumulations would always seek an outlet in foreign markets, thus inducing attempts to capture trade, to win colonies, in other words, imperialism and ultimately war. For them therefore capitalism was the enemy, to be tolerated only for the moment, and to be overthrown if necessary by revolution.

The communist argument, which this is not the place to examine, probably took too little account of the openings abroad for capital and its 'accumulated products' otherwise than by the capture of colonies. But it was driven home by the passionate conviction and brilliant argumentative power of a remarkable woman. Rosa Luxemburg had, from her first emergence in the nineties, attempted to recall German socialists from quasi-alliances, so alluring in that golden heyday of German industry, with 'bourgeois' capital, to a strict following of the social gospel of their common master, Marx. An upper layer of skilled workers might profit by the capitalist regime, but for the labouring masses there was no prospect of relief save by the overthrow of capitalism, and its instrument and safeguard, the military state. Against these enemies she wrote and spoke with fearless vehemence and unflagging brilliance. The crisis of 1914, in which the majority of Socialists reluctantly supported the national cause, found Rosa Luxemburg intransigent, and she passed most of the war years in prison. The letters which she wrote during this enforced leisure reflect the rich gifts of cultured interest, of delicate and eager insight into art and nature underlying the whitehot passion of the revolutionary leader. The premature and hopeless revolt against the republican government, in January, 1919, in which she lost her life, tragically closed a career which must remain memorable in the history both of German communism and of German womanhood.[1]

It was from these two extremes that the only dangerous disturbances came,—the communist risings, chiefly in Berlin and Munich, and the Kapp Putsch and the Hitler Putsch in the same cities. All were frustrated by the resisting and resilient power of the solid mass between. But in spite of momentary checks, both these currents of

[1] Philips Price, *u.s.*, Part iv., Rosa Luxemburg, *Briefe.*

extremer German thought and will held on. Both were sustained and reinforced by external influences. The spectacular triumph of the state in which Trotzky and Lenin had realized the doctrines of Marx, was a standing summons to Marx's countrymen to emulate them. Far graver was the effect upon military nationalism of the continuation of the war by the Allies in the dictated Peace of Versailles, the brutal circumstances of the Rhineland occupation, and the invasion of the Ruhr. These experiences, only mitigated by Locarno and the Dawes report to-day, converted the remnant of cashiered officers and out-of-date Junkers, who originally formed the insignificant right-wing of the new Republic, into that full half of the German nation which saw only in another war, led perhaps by another Kaiser, a relief from their intolerable conditions and the way back to their old greatness. Last year nationalism even seemed to have won control of the German ship of state when Hindenburg, the most commanding figure among her generals, was chosen, by a narrow majority, president of the Republic. But if the nationalists expected him to lead the way back to empire they mistook both the situation and the man. This heroic old soldier has served the bourgeois and socialist republic as faithfully as he served the Kaiser.

We must not ascribe this solely to the tact, prudence and sagacity of a very simple character. Forces deeper and stronger than personal ties or military prepossessions, and among them the inbred German instinct of fidelity to a trust, have made him one of the elements making for stability in the difficult equilibrium, as yet successfully maintained, of the new German Reich.[1]

Neither of these two disruptive movements, therefore, in spite of the force both of sentiment and reason, which in various proportions each had behind it, has made decisive headway in post-war Germany.

In this massive power of resistance we must recognize a first aspect of her post-war mind in politics. The political mind of the new Germany is clearly distinguishable from that of the generation which, if with less docility than is often thought, yet did on the whole prove malleable in the giant hands of Bismarck. And she has done

[1] This remains true notwithstanding the momentary failure in tact which permitted him to write the famous Letter before the Volks-Entscheid, in June last.

much more than resist attack. Bülow's *politischer Esel* has handled the new instrument of autonomous government under the overwhelming difficulties of the post-war and post-peace situation, not without grave errors certainly, but on the whole with singular discretion and tact, and once at least, in the Locarno pact, with a magnificent surrender of national to European interests which not one of the Allies has even affected to approach. The Constitution of 1919 was a piece of bold constructive legislation, which has stood both the terrific shock of the Versailles treaty and six years of unexampled stress. By that instrument Germany renounced, explicitly or implicitly, autocracy and militarism, and the unqualified national egoism of the imperial regime.

It is easy certainly to discover in the private life of the nation, in its industry, its art, its literature, symptoms which bore more equivocal witness to the health and vitality of Germany's post-war mind. Years of inanition, of irregular employment, of insecure existence, of moral slackening, had taken their toll in character, in quality of brain and hand. For some time after the war German manufacture declined month by month both in execution and in output. 'We produce nothing now but what is cheap and easy,' complained Walther Rathenau bitterly in 1920.[1] On the other hand, invention in the industrial arts had never been more fertile or resourceful than in this time of extreme need. In post-war literature and art a febrile brilliancy has been similarly but more intimately associated with a failure of nerve and stamina.

But if we look beyond these partial and passing phenomena, a more vital and significant fact emerges. The German people was, under new forms and conditions, recovering the liberty to be itself. It was in some important ways resuming a past with which it had lost touch. Poor and spare-living, relieved of empire, of militarism, and of the banal sumptuosity of a court, it was thrown back upon the enduring values and virtues of German civilization, patient resource, genius for order, and faith in the power of mind. And it was precisely these enduring values and virtues which, by the momentum of their persistence, enabled the nation successfully to resist the scarcely paralleled onset of forces making for its disintegration. What then were the constituents of this specifically German *Kultur* whose

[1] *The New Society.*

inherited efficiency thus contributed so largely to the stability both of Germany's post-war polity and of her post-war mind?

III.

I shall confine myself here to three.

First, Administration. Germany was the first state to carry out consistently the idea that good government demands a highly trained and educated civil service. Her civil administrators have not been exempt from the customary failings of bureaucracy; they have often been harsh and unsympathetic; but they were incorruptible; they understood the technique of government; and the best of them were living illustrations of the great saying of Goethe that the only way to possess freedom is by the daily doing of duty. To do full justice, however, to the quality of German administration we must look to the City; for the German city, and particularly the provincial capitals, as well of course as quasi-republics, like Hamburg and Bremen, enjoy a power and freedom of self-government much beyond that of any English city; and it was well-known before the war how high a level of efficient organization, under the guidance of enlightened and progressive Bürgermeisters, very many of them had reached. German administration undoubtedly lost something of its efficiency and even of its integrity under the terrible strain of the first post-war years. Impoverishment and inanition lowered executive quality, party passion not seldom warped the justice of the courts. But the great traditions of a profession are not easily overborne, and the steady functioning of the highly articulated machine of government in the hands of highly trained civil servants has powerfully contributed to the gradual recovery of the country.

Secondly, what I may most conveniently call Technology: the brilliant application of science, especially chemistry, to industry, which had before the war built up new industries on German invention, and transferred to Germany entire industries founded on discoveries made elsewhere. I am not here concerned with the sensational achievements of a Stinnes in making huge fortunes, even on the morrow of the Armistice, by adroit manipulation of capitalistic groups. But underlying such successes, and a more durable factor in them than mere financial cunning, was the mastery of industrial technique based upon elaborate scientific equipment. Thus it was that Walther Rathenau,

equally eminent in business and in politics, began his career with a notable discovery in the chemical laboratory. In this field German Kultur operates at once with sustaining and with creative power, as acquired momentum and as initiating energy, nourished by the inexhaustible resource and patience of the German mind.

Thirdly, organised 'culture' in the narrower sense; including the elaborate provision for education in the public schools, for scholarship and research in the universities, for music and drama in state and civic theatres and opera-houses.

In each of these aspects of civilization, applied to the full compass of national life, Germany before the war stood, and probably still stands, first. In each, if not a pioneer, she may claim to have bettered all precedent, and what she did not invent she carried out with a thoroughness which gave it a new meaning for national life. Each has an eventful history in pre-war Germany, of longer or more recent date. The first is the creation of the Prussia of Stein and Hardenberg; the second of the Germany of Bismarck; the third has its roots in the later middle ages, but owes most of its immense resilient and recuperative power to the structural and spiritual renascence which evolved the first. No effectual study of the demeanour of post-war Germany can neglect these determining antecedents. In the present fragmentary sketch it is possible to touch only upon the most vital passages in the history of a single section of the third.

Universal education was a corollary of Protestantism, and the country of Luther was the first to reach it. The stubborn Germanic faith in the worth of the individual spirit which, three centuries after Luther, impelled the Tory Wordsworth to his demand in the *Excursion* that every English child should be taught, was at work long before in obscure little German states of the seventeenth century. Amid the turmoil and devastation of the Thirty Years' War, State governments were laying down the principle of compulsory school attendance as a civic duty.[1] In the middle of the eighteenth century Germany acclaimed with rapture the educational gospel of Rousseau, and Kant evolved under the impact of Rousseau's individualism his own great doctrine that every human being is to be treated as an

[1] Sir M. Sadler in *Germany in the Nineteenth Century: Education*, p. 107 (Manchester Univ. Press, 1913).

end, and never as a means. When the catastrophe of Jena destroyed the Prussian state, the building up of the German nation out of the ruins became the supremely urgent need. In another country such a catastrophe might have swept away all spiritual ideals in order to produce a maximum of drilled battalions. But Fichte and Stein and Hardenberg did not so conceive their task. They meant to fashion a state outwardly strong and capable of resisting any attack by military power. But they knew that that outward strength must be based upon internal coherence, upon the individual quality of its citizens, and their opportunity for free development within the limits of law. Hence the most immediate and direct outcome of Fichte's famous lectures was not the building of barracks but the founding, in 1810, of the University of Berlin, followed within the next ten years by that of Breslau and Bonn. Nor was it only the higher stages of culture that were to be pursued, or the élite of the nation's manhood that was to be allowed the privilege of pursuing it. Precisely that belief in the universal capacity for, and right to, intellectual life inspired an equally thoroughgoing provision for elementary and secondary schools. Pestalozzi's ideas for the educational unfolding of the child, allied themselves with Fichte's conception of the preparation of the future citizen. Opportunity for the highest education was open to all, but there was no degradation of educational ideals to the lowest common measure. The Gymnasia gave, as they have ever since given and give to-day, a secondary education nowhere surpassed in range or strenuousness. Technical schools were founded, which were to play a vitally important part in the technological development of which I have spoken. Other special capacities were provided with their opportunities of training, or had it imposed on them. The service of the state, in particular, or that of a city, had as its necessary preliminary an elaborate and exacting course of study. And before these special preliminary studies could be entered on, a university standard of culture had to be attained. A man's soul, in short, had to fulfil itself, before he could be permitted to specialize as a citizen, and as the condition of his becoming a truer citizen when he did.

IV.

How then was this wonderful educational organism affected by the catastrophe of 1918? It suffered severely, without doubt. Of the two million Germans who fell, a far larger proportion than with us was drawn from the students and the younger professoriate of the universities. When the war was over ruin fell most grievously upon precisely that cultivated middle class, from whose homes the scholars, lawyers, physicians and clergy of the next generation would normally have been drawn. The enormous cost of printing, paper, binding, handicapped all publication of research, restricted the number, the compass, and the circulation, of the host of learned reviews.

Nevertheless, decay or decline is the last word that will occur to any observer of the German universities since the war. Suffering, scanty means, spare diet, do not necessarily mean, in things of the mind, diminished vitality. A century ago Germany was still a poor country, and Carlyle could contrast the fastidious, leisurely scholarship of Oxford with Heyne working fourteen hours a day in a garret at his edition of Vergil. The old Stoicism, the old resourcefulness, were not effaced by a generation or two of easier conditions. Some aid flowed in from England and America for the struggling university students, but this was trifling compared to what Germany herself did and to what the students did for themselves. I cannot pause here to dwell on the large-scale provision of meals at cost price, or on moving but typical stories like that of the Hamburg students who spent the morning from six to two in the heavy and dirty toil of unloading coal ships in the harbour, in order to attend lectures at the university from three to six.

And if we look to the actual output of German scholarship, one must measure by a high standard indeed to find it, in the departments of which the present writer can judge, meagre or slack. Fewer dissertations doubtless are printed, but the intellectual atmosphere is alive with ideas, and the stream of Zeitschriften continues to flow on with vigour, at least, unabated. Some departments of learning, such as archæology, suffered by the virtual exclusion of German scholars from many sources of new material. Her Egyptologists and Assyriologists could no longer excavate on the spot. The German school of Athens, where Dörpfeld had for a generation worked at the constructive interpretation of the Acropolis, was only after much delay

re-opened, and all intercourse with the English School there remained still longer in abeyance.[1] Worse than this, the fine international comity of scholars, which before the war had put French or English drawings or casts at the service of German colleagues, was, with such rare exceptions as that mentioned below, for the time at an end. But the immense treasures of the German libraries, public and private, remained, and the task of constructing and re-interpreting the past, in which each generation has to continue or revise the work of its predecessors, called as imperiously as ever on the masters of historical science. Some of these masters had shared the war fury to the full ; and ever and anon it still blazed out. But they could put aside these distracting memories, and with something of the sublime detachment of the East, in Arnold's poem, 'let the legions thunder past and plunge in thought again.' And if most of them were passionate nationalists, their chosen subjects reflected the cosmopolitan impartiality of science herself. Davidsohn continued his great monograph on the history of Florence, with yet more elaboration of critical method than his countryman Gregorovius had bestowed, a generation before, on the history of the City of Rome. In every quarter of the land the Babel of erudite discussion of the Bible and its problems continued with little abatement. In the capital, where the limbs of the embryo republic were being slowly and tentatively moulded, Eduard Meyer and Hans Delbrück, Adolf Harnack and Alois Brandl, who had all signed the famous manifesto of the Ninety-three Intellectuals in 1914, were now engaged in enriching scholarship with more enduring contributions to our knowledge of the history of the ancient world, or of the art of war, the Acts of the Apostles, or the work of Shakespeare. Still greater power of detachment was shown when Germany's recent enemies and conquerors were subjected, even it might seem with a special predilection, to the limelight of a relatively objective and dispassionate historical study. The history and institutions of England in particular, were surveyed and scrutinized with keen and often admiring interest, as if to discover the secret of the strength which had made the little island in the North Sea so inexplicably formidable.

[1] The old comradeship of their heads has long since been resumed. A first step to renewed intercourse was taken in 1919-20 by a student of the English school, who had introductions to a distinguished Berlin scholar at the German school.

One young historian examined in a massive volume the relations of English Puritanism to the classical learning of Humanism.[1] Another traced the gradual transformation of Protestantism in its relations to literature in the English eighteenth century.[2] And a distinguished Berlin professor, who during the war discharged the duties of censor of letters there, has published a comprehensive and elaborately documented treatise on the polity and civilization of England as a whole, which promises to become a classic on both sides of the North Sea.[3] More recently, in a brilliant but slighter *aperçu*, Karl Wildhagen has diagnosed the 'natural and historical foundations of the English national character,' which he discovers to be impulse and will.[4]

But it would give a very inadequate notion of the fertility of the post-war universities—even in the historical sciences alone—if we mentioned only specialist monographs on particular fields, however vast. The deepest and most masterful instinct of the German scientific brain is not specialism, in the sense of the minute investigation of a limited field. It is the intimate alliance of the gift of specialism with the gift for synthesis; of the eye which sees with precision every detail in a restricted field with that which presents masses of apparently alien fact in illuminating relation. We need but recall some of the giants of German scholarship, not one of them without this organic union of faculties; Jakob Grimm, equally a master of folklore, philology, folk-tales and primitive law; Lachmann, revolutionizing single-handed the study both of the Nibelungen and of Lucretius; Welhausen, overthrowing the traditional and now obsolete view of the Old Testament, and confounding its supporters because he knew not only Hebrew, as they did, but all the Semitic languages and Egyptology; Lotze, welding metaphysic and science together in a new 'microcosm of Nature and Spirit.' Nor has this fruitful union of specialism and synthesis grown obsolete in the German scholarship of our time. Two great scholars and thinkers, one of whom died only the other

[1] W. Schirmer: *Puritanismus und Renaissance.*

[2] H. Schöffler, *Protestantismus und Litteratur*, 1922.

[3] W. Dibelius, *England*, 2 vols.

[4] K. Wildhagen, *Die . . . Grundlagen des engl. Volkscharakters*, 1925. A more directly comparative study is G. Luddermann's *Entgegengesetzte Denk-Welten*, eine philosophisch politische. Studie über d. grundsätzliche verschiedenheit der engl. u. deutschen Denkart (Halle, 1925).

day, have transformed both the theory and the conclusions of sociological history by bringing politics, morals, art, science, economics, religion,—so often treated as autonomous and self-sufficing domains,—into illuminating contiguity, and eliciting those profound affinities and responses which in reality interpenetrate human society. The older of the two, Max Weber, who died shortly before the war, inherited from Karl Marx the recognition that history can be explained neither by the evolution of ideas, as Hegel believed, nor by the play of political forces, but that the rise and fall of states was sometimes conditioned by man's hunger and greed. Thus he showed how the greatness and decline of Rome is illuminated by the history of her land tenure and of her towns. But he did not, like Marx, find in man's hunger the solution to the entire evolution of his past. His rich mind was sensitive to spiritual as well as economic values; he rethought the thought of Hegel as of Marx in ways of his own and with enormously enhanced material. And his ultimate aim was to justify the belief, of which he never lost hold, that mind is the ultimate and underlying fact in history, because purpose, even to win a livelihood, is itself a form of reason.

The younger of the two, Ernst Troeltsch, is probably the most impressive figure in the post-war world of German learning and thought. Unlike Weber, he approached sociological history from the side of religion, beginning his career as a Protestant clergyman. Religion, he wrote in the fascinating autobiographical retrospect, prefixed to his latest work,[1] 'Religion was my first love'; and he looked to it as the ultimate goal of his thought. But if religion was the supreme problem, it was only one factor in the complex evolution of society; and the task of interpreting this evolution, and the incessant resulting creation of new values, economic and spiritual, became his central preoccupation. Protestant orthodoxy was soon too narrow for him; he resigned his orders, played a dominant part in the Senate of Baden, and when appointed professor, during the war, at Berlin, joined the Philosophical, not the Theological faculty. He seized eagerly upon the work of Marx and Weber,[2] saw at once

[1] *Meine Bucher*, introd. to *Historismus*, 1923.

[2] For the relation between the work of Weber and Troeltsch, see the latter's penetrating appreciation and criticism of the former in his *Historismus*, p. 367 f.

that the history of Christian doctrine cannot be explained, as Harnack sought to do, from within theology, by the impact of theological forces and influences alone. As little could it be explained as a conflict of spiritual truth with the passions and blindness of 'the world.' For Troeltsch's large social vision 'the world' with its hunger, its ambitions, its secular ardours and idealisms, had a law, an ethic of its own, which could claim to be weighed and valued along with the ethic of Christianity.[1] More than that, these two ethics, the secular and the religious, had not grown up in isolation, but each had, in the historic upbuilding of modern society, penetrated and moulded the other. To trace this process was the task attempted in his epoch-making book, 'The social bases of the Christian Churches.' There is no question here of resolving the progress of Christianity into the pressure of worldly interests. But just as the early church had to provide for its needs as well as for its teaching, so all through its later history dogma reacts upon the customs and the ethic of secular society, and is itself reacted upon by these. The relief of the poor is an accepted Christian duty, but pure Christianity seeks rather to idealize their condition than to relieve it. The financial vigour and success of many devout Englishmen is apt in the eyes of foreign observers to convict them of hypocrisy. But Troeltsch, after Weber, finds in modern Capitalism the direct product of Puritanism, its strenuous and ascetic genius creating industrial England with one hand, and destroying 'merry England' with the other.[2]

I have dwelt upon the work of this great scholar and thinker, not only because of interesting sidelights such as these upon our own history, nor because of the deep interest he has excited in England,—he was about to give a course of lectures here, in response to a

[1] It was not for nothing that he described his ideal as 'thought saturated with reality' (*Wirklichkeitsgesättigtes Denken*); or that he contributed a series of powerful letters, as an 'onlooker' (*Spektatorbriefe*), to the discussion of the war.

[2] The Weber-Troeltsch account of the matter has, however, been lately shown by Mr. R. H. Tawney to rest upon too simple an analysis of Puritanism. 'The heart of man holds mysteries of contradiction, which live in vigorous incompatibility together. There were different elements in the Puritan spirit: a sober prudence which would gather the fruits of this world, and a divine recklessness which would make all things new': *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, p. 212.

pressing invitation, at the moment of his death early in 1923; but because, with Weber and Simmel, he stands out as the most expressive embodiment of the modern German spirit in the interpretation of man and the world, and of those deeper strains in the mind of contemporary Germany which the present essay seeks to define. That Troeltsch never reached finality—he died at fifty-seven—may make his works less satisfactory as text-books (which they were never meant to be), but it makes him only the truer example of the German spirit. He wrestled, like Faust, with fundamental problems which ceaselessly solicited him but which he never conclusively solved. To discover the inner bond which holds the world together ('*Dass ich erkenne was die Welt Im innersten zusammenhält*') was the problem that tormented Faust. The riddle which the whole import of his own life-work forced incessantly upon Troeltsch was how to reconcile religion and history; the absolute values which faith postulates, with the relativity involved in an evolutionary process, where every successive phase embodies some element of truth.[1]

The career of Ernst Troeltsch, upon which I have deliberately lingered, was no isolated phenomenon, even in the war- and post-war years of Germany. If he was the most eminent worker in his field, and had few equals among contemporary scholars in any country, his mind, his life, his ideals, and it must be added his thought-packed and difficult writing, were in the great tradition of German scholarship. The authority of that tradition the war and its sequel, gravely as

[1] This dilemma was already implicit in his *Die Absolutheit des Christentums und die Religionsgeschichte*, 1902. 'Das Buch,' he wrote in 1923, 'ist der Keim Alles weiteren' (*Meine Bücher*). The tentative solution which he had reached at the end of his life is given in the lectures which he was to have delivered here. 'The stream of historical life [with its ceaseless change] may be dammed and controlled from two sides: Firstly, by the morality of individual conscience, which for us Europeans is founded upon Stoic-Christian ideas, and leads to the idea of the Rights of Man, Humanity, and the duty of Solidarity, . . . and secondly, by the ethic of cultural values, which for us Europeans is most decisively formed by Plato and the Neoplatonists.' I quote the lucid summary of Baron v. Hügel in his Introduction to the translation of these lectures. How deeply Troeltsch's mind was penetrated by the apparent implications of 'historicity' is shown by his doctrine that truth itself is 'polymorphous.' Cf. the interesting discussion of this by Professor C. Webb, in Needham's *Science, Religion, and Reality*, p. 336.

they have embarrassed its upholders, have as yet done nothing to impair. In this domain, at least, the great catastrophe which withdrew from Germany's grasp the ephemeral signs and splendours of empire had only emphasized her inalienable possession of some eternal things. The tramp of soldiers is silent in the spacious linden avenue upon which faces her leading university now barely 120 years old; the royal palace opposite is a museum. But you pass through the university gates into a quiet quadrangle, an academic grove cool with the shade of trees which have only grown ampler during the years of conflict; hard by stands the statue of Hegel, symbol if we will of the discarded dreams of absolutism and the shattered Prussian state, but also of the unresting intellectual passion which takes all knowledge for its province, and of the unconquering power and daring of human thought. Yet of that intellectual passion, of that daring human thought, even those illustrious interpreters of the evolution of history may one day be held less impressive examples than another Berlin worker in a widely different domain of knowledge,—the man who has loosened time and space from their moorings, shown gravitation to be a corollary, and measured the compass of the universe;—the man who not only refused to share the war fury himself, but for a moment at least, on the very morrow of the war, suspended it in others.[1]

V.

Such in outline were some of the stabilizing forces which post-war Germany derived from her inherited Kultur. But we should gravely misconceive her temper if we imagined that to be stable meant to be inert, or that millions who rejected and resisted revolutionary violence did not dream ardently of transforming change. The Constitution worked out at Weimar six months after the Armistice provided a legal framework for the social structure which has till now withstood the terrific strain of the dictated Peace and its consequences. But it was a compromise, effected by give and take, which completely satisfied no party in the state. And no transformation of legal and social structure alone would have appeased the ferment in the host of eager and prolific brains which did not think in terms of politics at all,

[1] As is well known, the English expeditions sent out in 1919 to test Einstein's theory of gravitation by observation of eclipse phenomena, reported that the evidence confirmed it.

—still so recent and unfamiliar a form of German experience,—or of any merely external and material betterment of society. With a passion of idealism which is apt to excite only the ironical comments of the foreign observer, they declared, in an infinity of tones and accents, that the supreme need of the ruined fatherland was a spiritual renewal; a new birth of the German soul. The prayer uttered in the prefatory poem prefixed to Fritz Liebhard's Alsacian novel 'Westmark' found response in thousands of hearts: 'The empire without a soul broke in fragments; before the whole world we stand in shame. Now it is our place to build up out of light an empire of the soul which cannot be shattered. Here, German youth, lies your path! Give the new Germany a soul!'[1]

No one knew better than the man who uttered that appeal that that 'path' to 'soul' was not more easy because the 'soulless' empire had fallen; that the war which overthrew it had left moral wreckage as well as material ruin in its train; and that if horror and indignation and hope had bred a quicker idealism in the finer spirits of 'German youth,' licence and disillusion and the relaxation of moral standards had drawn others into lower depths of cynical degradation. Their voices were not always articulate. But it was with the idealists that the future of Germany lay.

We may distinguish two groups among them. M. Fernand Baldensperger, who has lately described with his customary brilliance and amplitude of research the 'movement of ideas' among the *émigrés* of the first French revolution, finds that the 'idea' which preoccupied them all, the remaking of France after their return, took two principal forms. One group ('Prophets of the Past') like the Bourbons, thought only in terms of restoration; the other thought in terms of reform. The German people was not, like the French *émigrés*, expatriated. But their *patria*, their national home, was none the less obscured and defaced, and a like cleavage divided the future of their dreams. In some it was shaped by memory and old-world pieties, in others by imagination and hope.

The first group corresponds roughly to that of the Nationalists in politics. It is not always the transient glories of the Reich that allure them. To many eyes the great creative age of German mind

[1] Quoted by Hewell-Thayer, *The Modern German Novel.*

beacons across the intervening century, and the national uprising of her youth against Napoleon symbolizes the visionary Germanism of Fichte rather than the blood and iron of Bismarck. 'The war has shown us where our spirit lies,' cries Dr. Hans Jaeger of Eisenach, as a preface to a flaming proclamation of what he calls 'the Gothic Mind in German poetry.'[1] 'The war has brought us again the consciousness of being deeply Gothic in heart and blood. It is not classical or French culture that inspires our truest and greatest work, but the spirit enshrined in Strassburg minster and the Nibelungenlied.' It was a half truth, which neither the mature Goethe nor Nietzsche would have accepted; but like other half truths it could intoxicate and inflame the brain. The young Goethe had proclaimed it in his rapturous hymn of praise to that same minster of Strassburg, his essay 'Of German architecture,'[2] and at the beginning of the nineteenth century the German Romantic School founded a new art gospel upon the supremacy of the Gothic spirit. For Otto Spengler, whose "Ruin of the West" was the furore of the early 'twenties, "the West" was not only Germanic but an embodiment of the soul of Faust. It was thus no accident that in 1920 and the following years a series of elaborate studies of Romanticism attested how keenly the call of that Gothic spirit of old Germany was 'felt in the heart and felt along the blood' in the tragic depression which followed the war.[3]

But the old Germany had less equivocal titles to renewed discipleship. I do not speak of the great musicians, nor of Goethe, for their supremacy was never in question. But she had also, in Leibniz, Kant and Hegel, three of the supreme figures in the history of philosophy, almost the only modern thinkers worthy to be ranked with, or near, Plato and Aristotle. The 'return to Kant' had begun years before the war; but the later volumes of 'Kant-Studien,' the organ of this movement, betray an intensified consciousness of the value of this immense asset of Germany and of the modern world. The universal genius of Leibniz is in a yet more

[1] 'Der gotische Geist in der deutschen Dichtung,' 1925.

[2] *Von deutscher Baukunst*, 1770.

[3] Strich, *Deutsche Klassik u. Romantik*, 1922; Nadler, *Die Berliner Romantik*, 1920; Körner, *Romantiker und Klassiker*, 1924; Tumarkin, *Die romantische Weltanschauung*, 1920; Stefanski, *Das Wesen der Romantik*, 1923.

peculiar sense a German asset; he, more than any other thinker, must rank as the metaphysical interpreter (though he wrote mainly in French and Latin) of the deepest instincts of the German mind,—the union of individualism and totality, of the faith that the individual has infinite worth, which yet can only be realized by it as a member of a living organism. It is again no accident that the complete works of Leibniz are shortly to be edited by the Berlin Academy, his own creation.

VI.

It will be seen that the appeal to the past did not, in Germany, tell solely on the side of reaction. The reformer and the idealist also drew inspiration and support from history, and the cleavage between the two groups, between the advocates of Restoration and of Reform, was therefore less clear-cut than it had been among the less historically minded *émigrés* of France.

Some of Germany's greatest memories told not as reactionary but as revolutionary forces. They were too potent to engender mere emulation; they summoned, trumpet-tongued, if only in majestic verse and vibrating prose, to a national life redeemed from the idols of the Bismarckian Reich, to a richer and more powerful ideal of manhood, purged from the fetish of the servile state. Thus Goethe, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and Nietzsche at the end, polar opposites in cast of genius, helped alike to formulate the new ideals for the upbuilding of German character and the policy of the German state.

What, now, was the nature of these new ideals? They were, in the first place, not simply aspirations for improvement in something already tolerably good; they were based on a passionate repudiation of some vital constituent of the existing, or recently existing, order. And it will be clearest to group them on the lines of these repudiations.

First, in sharp antagonism to the first group, is the repudiation of the whole complex of ideas and passions embraced in the 'imperialism' of the fallen Reich: in particular, aggressive nationalism, and its accompaniments, racial arrogance and militarism. The repudiation of aggressive nationalism does not mean that every German does not bitterly resent the wrongs done by the Treaty, and subsequently, in

Poland and Silesia: it does not mean a surrender of the hope of recovering them, or of the desire to make Germany again in outward things, as she is in inner, the equal of the other nations of the European comity. But it does mean, firstly, the adoption of international goodwill, of loyalty, not only to 'king and country,' but to humanity; the recognition that 'patriotism is not enough,'—as the completion and crown of national citizenship, not as its contradiction. It may seem a small matter that in the section of the Constitution which deals with education, it is expressly laid down that school books must inculcate international goodwill as well as (quite properly) patriotic pride. That German school-books have been produced animated by a very different temper, especially towards France, is beyond doubt; but it is much that they have not, like the venomous fare provided for French and Belgian school children, implicit or explicit government sanction. More impressive to us is perhaps the emphatic internationalism of those bodies of young men and women, of all creeds and ranks of society, who constitute what is known as the 'Movement of Youth.' Of this remarkable movement I shall say more later: I will here only mention one touching instance,—the fund collected among its members at the worst period of German impoverishment, and mostly from very slender purses, towards the restoration of ravaged France. And it is needless to recall once more the triumph of European over the national mind which dictated the offer now embodied in the Treaty of Locarno.

The second aspect of the reaction from imperialism is the abandonment of the arrogance of race; the naïve idolatry of Teutonicism, which saw in the 'Germanic race' not only the ethnological basis of medieval and modern Europe, but the source of all the solid excellences of national character. This is at bottom a question of scientific fact, and the reaction has found its most important support in the workshop of science. The bible and text-book of this belief, before the war, was, as is well known, the work of an Englishman, whose brilliantly-written rhapsody of pseudo-science, *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, used to be read aloud, we are told, with fervent admiration by the Ex-Kaiser to his sons. It took the mind and heart not only of uninstructed Germany captive. But its own 'foundations,' always unsound, have been shattered by German scholars since the war, and in the name not only of science but of

internationalism. In particular I mention the remarkable recent book of Hertz—*Rasse und Kultur* which riddles the whole conception of 'race' as an article of national faith and with it one of the chief provocatives of national animosity. Behind the important question of theory lies a yet more momentous question of action and practice. What Hertz and his school have done is not merely to demolish with the trumpet blast of ethnological science Chamberlain's paste-board Jericho of racial superstition. They have sapped the authority of one of the most dangerous of the illusions that lead to war; and his book was dedicated, significantly, to the memory of Jaurès, the great Frenchman murdered, in August, 1914, like Rathenau eight years later, by Chauvinists who could not forgive the man who did not share that illusion.[1]

Thus, Germany's repudiation of national egoism, and of national racialism, had as its natural, if not necessary accompaniment, the repudiation of militarism. The naive policy which thought to compel that repudiation by disarming her, while the rest of the world remained armed, notoriously made it far more difficult, by deeply wounding, together with her pride, her hope of security and her sense of justice. Nevertheless, the hope, widely entertained, of one day redressing her wrongs even by force, is not a return to the spirit of a Tirpitz or even of a Treitschke. Over a far wider area the overwhelming sufferings of the war, culminating in the final débâcle which rendered all those sufferings and all the magnificent pretensions which involved them, futile, have produced a profound abhorrence of war itself.

We shall presently hear how clear a cry rang out from poetry, even during the war, for human brotherhood,—'the word that eternally unites us,—Man.'[2] No less clearly rings the abhorrence of the ruin and savagery of war,—the vehement demand 'to annihilate

[1] Other happy signs of recovery, on both sides of the frontier, are the policy deliberately pursued by Professor Vermeil and others at Strassburg of making this frontier university a focus of French and German intellectual intercourse and mutual understanding, the foundation of the Paris review *Evolution*, and the international conference held at Paris on 20 January, 1926, under the presidency of M. H. Lichtenberger, when Thomas Mann gave a luminous survey of German Kultur.

[2] Heynicke, *Freundschaft.*

the annihilation so that the healing power may unfold.'[1] It had begun long before the great war, and the menace of an armed Europe was nowhere more poignantly felt or uttered than in the country commonly regarded as the capital of militarism. The outbreak of war itself seemed to be received by the German people with a universal burst of enthusiasm. But not all the finer spirits shared that temper. This was what Franz Werfel, one of the most gifted of her contemporary poets, wrote on the Fourth of August, 1914, in the chaotic images, abrupt phrases, and rhymless verse of the new day: it is an outcry to "Time":

'Born on a tempest of false words,
Thy head wreathed about with idle thunder,
Sleepless with lying,
Girdled with deeds that were never done,
Boasting of sacrifices
Hateful and loathsome to heaven,
So marchest thou on, O Time,
Into the roaring Dream
Which God, with awful hands
Plucks from his slumber and casts away,'[2]
'Cease,' [cries another],' to call on the God who hears not!
Ye have not understood,
A little under-devil is ruling the world,
His servants are Unreason and Madness.'[3]

With more direct and moving art, militarism was assailed and exposed in novel and drama. Conspicuous among the former are the two 'war-novels' of Clara Viebig, *Das Rote Meer* and *Töchter der Hekuba*, powerful and moving pictures of the tragic reflexion of the war in sorrow and passion, crime and vice, in a Berlin suburb; Latzko's deliberately horrible exposure of war horrors in *Friedensgericht*, Leonhard Frank's *Der Mensch ist gut*, and Herbert von Eulenberg's *Das Bankrott Europas*.[4] In drama the most powerful anti-war voices were those of the now well-known trio, Ernst Toller, Georg Kaiser, and Fritz von Unruh. Toller's work has been in part translated and acted in England, and is well known here. Kaiser's lurid drama *Gas* is a grim *reductio ad absurdum* of war carried on,

[1] Pinthus, *Menschkeits-dämmerung*, p. xii.
[2] F. Werfel, *Der Krieg*. [3] A. Ehrenstein, *Der Kriegsgott*.
[4] An excellent account is given of those and other anti-war novels in Hewart-Thayer: *The Modern German Novel* (1924), ch. VIII.

as it threatens to be in future, by scientific methods so deadly that they will destroy civilization itself. Unruh, who has also written a powerful series of war stories, *Opfergang*, is the least known but the most remarkable of the three; he is also the one who most forcibly illustrates the anti-militarist revulsion brought about in Germany by the war. For Kaiser and Toller are Socialists, and the Socialists had always as a party opposed militarism, and took part reluctantly or under protest in the Great War. But Unruh is a Prussian officer of noble birth, and composed before the war several plays inspired by the deepest reverence for the old Prussian spirit of loyalty to duty. 'As law is above the stars,' he wrote in his *Louis Ferdinand, Prince of Prussia* (1911), 'so above man stands *Duty* great and stern.' 'But what duty?' His experience as a commander in the rush upon France in 1914 tragically shattered his old faith, and gave him a new and totally different answer. In his one-act tragedy *Before the Decision*, he shows us in its pitiless horror what an invasion, carried out, not by a wild soldiery but with strict observance of military rules, really means. The central figure, a commanding officer of a German battalion, has to order the execution of the men of a French household for the death of some German soldiers. When it is over he goes out in fierce revulsion against the hideous perversion of Duty: 'Down with the lying gods!'[1] I can only refer to Unruh's more comprehensive presentment of his thought in his Trilogy, still (1926) incomplete, which will lead us from the war-horror of the First Part,[2] through the confused and ineffectual pullulation of the new humanity in a society still a prey to sensual and military lusts, depicted in the Second Part, 'Platz.' The yet unpublished Third, 'Dietrich,' will presumably show us the Hamlet-like hero of the Second Part finally overcoming his doubts and united with Irene, the one pure and lofty spirit of peace, as Prometheus with Asia.

A similar revulsion is described by Ernst Toller in his piece

[1] *Vor der Entscheidung*, cf. also Diebold, *Anarchie des Dramas*, on Unruh's plays at large. A useful summary of his chief dramas is given by Engel in *Schneider's Bühnenführer*.

[2] According to the author's description quoted by Diebold, *u.s.* Unruh has given a brief, vehement "Confession" of his poetic faith in Edschmid's little collection Schöpferische Confession (Tribüne der Kunst und Zeit), 1919. Creation is for him the essence of life, faith its instrument, and the solidarity of humanity its end.

entitled *Die Wandlung*, where a young sculptor, disgusted with his useless life as an artist, throws it up to go and fight in the African Colonial War. But war experience brings his sculptor's hammer into use again, to shatter the statue of the Fatherland's military Might.

VII.

Militarism, race-arrogance, imperialism, are unmistakeable phenomena, the repudiation of which is equally unmistakeable. I turn, lastly, to a repudiation no less real, but less easy to limit or define: the revolt against what may be comprehensively called the spirit of mechanism. The term denotes, in general, the obstructive or inhibitory effect of rigid forms or traditional habits upon the spontaneous energies of life and thought. Of mechanism in this sense, the soldier, the schoolmaster, and the capitalist, with their characteristic ethos of discipline and system, had made German society, in emancipated eyes, a crying example. They saw there the mechanism of a rigid social order, the stiff middle-class conventions which Ibsen, fifty years before, had exposed in the remorseless mirror of his art; the mechanism of an educational machinery meant not merely, like the divine Potter's, to 'give a bent,' but to mould completely; the mechanism, more literally, of the industrial machine which in Kaiser's drastic phrase makes money but uses up men. Or again, they saw the mechanism of the mind; the dogmas of rigid mental habits inaccessible to influence and growth, characteristic of what Bergson calls the *closed man*.

Not every German who thus diagnosed his country's plight saw the remedy with the simple faith of the emancipator, or imagined that when 'the machine,' in Mann's phrase was 'broken, the stifled soul would breathe free.' In the eyes of one German whose stern prognostic filled the entire country for a year with excited discussion, the German soul itself was stricken with decay and nearing its doom. Actually completed just before the war, in the heyday of imperial pride, when 'ruin' was the last destiny that Germany imagined for herself, Oswald Spengler's book, 'The Ruin of the West,' seemed like the writing on the wall to a people trembling on its verge. The more so as this was no sensational pamphlet, but a vast survey of universal history, imposing in its architectonic, in its sweep of imagination, in its immense

and many-sided, if far from impeccable, learning. History, as here portrayed, was the development of four independent, but only partially contemporary civilizations, each with its regular sequence of spring, summer, autumn and winter, its birth, maturity, and death. India, classic antiquity, the semitic Arabs and Jews, had long vanished or left only effete traces of themselves. And now the fourth and latest, which he calls the Germanic because it began with the succession of the Germanic tribes to the Roman Empire of the west, was also verging on its close. It had been very glorious; for the soul of the West is identified with that Gothic soul towards which, as we saw, the new medieval Romantics were looking back with longing eyes. Its spring had created the Eddas, it had reached its summer culmination in the Gothic cathedrals, in Shakespeare; its autumn was still glorious, as the season of Goethe and the great idealists Kant and Hegel. The fundamental mark of the Germanic spirit (of the 'Soul of the West' therefore) was, for Spengler, the pursuit of the infinite, whether in the upward soaring of Gothic choirs, in Faustus's repudiation of the finite logic of the schools, or in Leibniz's infinitesimal calculus. But now, the 'soul of Faust' is flagging, and in decay. Its creative power is gone, it can only mechanize, observe a technique, follow regulations; its art, its science, its citizenship, its outlook upon the world, are permeated and controlled by mechanism. A materialist socialism has displaced the constructive philosophies. Spengler, it is true, refused to be called a pessimist,[1] as his title led those who had not read his book, and many who had, to suppose; but his last word was a kind of grim Stoicism, the temper of a heroic but hopeless spirit confronting a welter of universal decay.

Spengler and his ideas faded swiftly into the background, and it is needless here either to discuss these ideas, or to describe the storm of criticism which, after a moment of awed wonder, his book evoked. Many of the shafts struck home, for Spengler exercised his amazing gift of intuition, of comparison, of discovering analogies, with singularly little critical control, and it ran riot in the brilliant but often fantastic pages of his book. Specialists in every province of its encyclopædic domain exposed errors and oversights without number in their particular spheres; metaphysicians, mathematicians, economists, the historians of

[1] In his pamphlet, '*Pessimismus?*'

politics, of religion, of art, of music, protested with various degrees of emphasis and of acerbity against his statements or his conclusions. But few of the weightier participators in the controversy withheld the admission that Spengler's colossal 'synthesis' was the most imposing effort of its kind since Hegel, and nothing can deprive 'Spenglerismus' of its significance as a portent of the post-war German mind.[1]

Little of Spengler's 'Stoic' temper is to be detected in the crowd of lyric poets who utter in hectic chorus their repudiation of a mechanical social order, emphasized in most cases by a repudiation of rhythm and rhyme. In criticism of social conventions Ibsen may have led the way. But these explosive and chaotic singers never remind us of those inflexibly closed lips; and few of them have more of his genius than of his austere reticence. And if Ibsen might be called an anarchist in social morality, he was not an anarchist in art, but used for the exposure of the rottenness of society a marvellously perfected dramatic instrument; whereas most of the German moral anarchists, being anarchists in art as well, were handicapped by the imperfection of the self-made weapons they used. They reflected most faithfully, as one of them, Kurt Pinthus, says, the 'fermenting, chaotic, explosive' temper of the time. He has made an anthology of the poems of some two dozen of them, which he calls 'The Twilight of Humanity,' an expressive title. Not upon Germany alone, but upon Humanity, they saw the night descending; and in that twilight of coming doom they trample on the humanity of that past day and all it cherished. In its splendour, its boasted morality, in all morality, they saw only delusion and sham. 'In the luxuriant flower of civilization they smelt the reek of decay, and their prophetic eyes saw a hollow factitious culture and a social order propped up solely on mechanism and convention, and already in ruins.'[2] I shall not try to illustrate the crude directness with which these poets paint this moral slough, where sex throws aside its last veil.

[1] A valuable conspectus of the literature of '*Spenglerismus*,' which offers at the same time a kind of cross-section through the intellectual life of Germany in 1922, is M. Schroeter's *Der Streit um Spengler* (München, 1922). The *Preussische Jahrbücher* of May in the same year devoted an entire number to Spengler; several of the essays and reviews it contains are important and illuminating. In English there are short notices in Gooch's *Germany*, and by Weinel, *Hibbert Rev.*, Jan., 1924.

[2] Pinthus, *Menschkeits-dämmerung*, p. x.

I will rather quote a few poignant lines which bring home to us the intensity with which some of them felt the tragedy of the night into which that deepening twilight was leading their country and mankind; they are headed 'Gethsemane':

> 'All men are the Saviour.
> In the twilight garden we all drink of the Cup.
> Father, let it not be taken from us!
> We are all of one love:
> We are all deep woe.
> Father, thy world is our Cross.
> Let it not be taken from us!'

Poetry of this type is called by the outside critic 'anarchic' but is entitled by its own practitioners 'Expressionismus.' 'Expressionism' is the opposite, not of what we call impressionism, but of naturalism. The expressionist artist was not in the least concerned to depict outward things as men in general see them, or even, like the impressionist, to translate into form some pregnant moment in his own experience of them. He sought only to utter his own glowing individual vision or impassioned intuition, using the forms and images of outward things merely as instruments of that utterance. He did not, however, conceive himself as a merely 'subjective' poet. Rather, he claimed to see the world through an imagination which everywhere pierced to and disclosed its inner significance; and he scornfully contrasted this transcendental universe laid bare in its eternal truth, with the merely momentary truth of impressionism and the merely surface truth of naturalism. 'For the piecemeal atomism, of the impressionist,' declares its eloquent exponent, Kasimir Edschmid, 'we have a great, all-embracing world-emotion. . . . The earth is a colossal landscape, given us by God. We have so to see it that it does not appear deformed. No one doubts that what appears to us the outer reality cannot be the truly real. Reality must be created by ourselves. The meaning of things however must be sought. We must not be satisfied with the believed, fancied, or observed fact. The image of the world must be received pure and unsullied. But that is only in ourselves. . . . Whenever a man has the root of things in his hand, if his fist has grip, then Expressionism comes about.'[1]

[1] *Ueber den Expressionismus in der Literatur* (Tribüne der Kunst und Zeit), based on a speech delivered in Dec., 1917.

This ferment of transcendentalism in glowing temperaments held little promise of a severely cultured poetic form. And in fact we commonly find, in this expressionist poetry, an explosive chaotically-surging speech, mostly in brief lyrics which, as I have said, usually refuse rhyme and even rhythm, structure, continuity and sequence. The expressionist drama cannot, as drama, dispense with plot. But its plots are usually of naked simplicity, brief, vehement, spasmodic. This does not exclude great diversities both of style and temperament in their dramatic speech. There is the cool platonist Kaiser, says Diebold in his powerful but hostile study, 'Anarchy in the Drama,' and the nervously ecstatic Kornfeld, the theatre-film-like Hasenklever, the heavily moving von Unruh, the mocking cynic Sternheim, and the Catholic believer Sorge. These are the strongest dramatists of to-day. 'What binds them together is the passion for inwardness.'

The socialists' crusade against capital, already adumbrated in *The Pillars of Society*, surges through Georg Kaiser's powerful and original drama, *Gas*. 'Gas' is the symbol of money, which industry, the machine, produces for the capitalist, while the men who work the machine are used up. The hero, son of a milliardaire, is engaged in manufacturing a gas more powerful than all known fuels. All the world runs wild after it. One day something goes wrong, there is a frightful explosion in which many lives are lost. The workmen strike, and the world's supply of gas threatens to run short. The milliardaire's son casts about for a solution. There was no flaw in the manufacturing process, the formula used was perfectly correct. Then the true solution flashes upon him. No, it was not the formula for the gas that was wrong, but the product, the gas itself. 'Away with the Machine, and discover Man! The millions of men mechanically used up to produce it!' In this strange but impressive drama, the middle piece, in its two parts, of a tetralogy of social reform, Kaiser sounds the most strident note in the war with mechanism, as the enemy of life. And with this play in mind, we see how Kaiser's fellow dramatist, Ernst Toller came to make a drama of the story of our Nottingham machine-breakers, performed here not long ago. These Nottingham lace-machines were meant, like Kaiser's gas-works, as a symbol of the mechanism which devours and consumes man. We understand too how a more philosophic spirit than Toller, no social anarchist, but a travelled aristocrat, Count Keyserling, should

sum up Chicago as the city in which mechanism was completely master of man. He tells us with appalling clearness what he means. 'It is not that the machine kills the man, but that it reduces all that is spiritual to material, all that is organic to mechanical terms, by showing that without soul, cultural interests, or emotional cultivation, it is possible to live a full and busy life.'[1]

VIII.

In these sentences of Count Keyserling, vibrating with passion for spiritual culture, we have a glimpse of the more ideal aspect of the revolution, hinted in many a chaotic utterance but of which we must now notice the explicit signs. The rebels against mechanism and social routine often used the language of the libertine, but their libertinage was shot with idealism; and what seemed the naked effrontery of passion was often a fierce effort at self-liberation from a bondage of the soul. The poet-collector of the anthology mentioned above, *The Twilight of Humanity*, explains that the 'twilight,' if it means primarily the twilight of decadence, the passing from day's splendour to the night of despair, in which their country seemed to be sinking, or sunk, means also the twilight which precedes the dawn of the new day; the deliverance of Man which Man himself can alone achieve.[2] It has been said, finely and profoundly, that chaos in Germany is a 'chaos that longs to be a Cosmos,'—*ein Chaos das sich nach Cosmos sehnt.*

We must not look in the chaotic ferment of these poets of the 'Twilight,' whether they take it to be of the dawning or of the dying day, for more than the germs of such a Cosmos. But the germs are there. Love and brotherhood are passionate ideals, and their vision of them transfigures to them the world. They know, too, that the spiritual revolution must begin within. Thus René Schickele:

> 'What I would have the world be
> I must first be myself,
> And utterly and without constraint.
> I must become a ray of light,
> A clear water,
> And a fleckless Hand
> Held out to greet and to help'[3]

[1] Graf Hermann Keyserling, *Reisetagebuch eines Philosophen*, p. 613. With the justice of this diagnosis of Chicago we are not here concerned.

[2] Pinthus, *u.s.*, ix.

[3] *Abschwur* (Pinthus, *u.s.*, p. 269).

And Franz Werfel, more mystically :

> 'All things *are* if thou lovest! . . .
> Heart, heart, how dost thou shape and make! . . .
> When thou soarest, Man, the world grows great,
> And when thou sinkest it grows desolate!
> Only the soul that loses itself in love
> Is of all the measure, and all measure above!'[1]

The most remarkable and original manifestation of this impulse towards a new Cosmos of the spirit is that 'Youth-Movement' to which I have already referred; the more so as it suggests to the outsider rather a revindication of Chaos, so resolutely do many of its spokesmen denounce the social order[2] of which they are heirs. It extends to the youth of all classes, parties, and creeds. Among the proletariat workers, free-thinkers, evangelicals, Catholics, the keenest and most spirited young men and young women form new groups, each, while retaining the old name, seeking to build up a new life upon a variously simplified and spiritualized version of the traditional faith. The oldest of all, the nucleus of the entire movement, the 'free-German' youth, is as its name suggests, the freest from tradition; but while remaining definitely anti-Christian, it repudiates the free-thinker's idolatory of intelligence, as well as the neglect or abuse of the body. The 'Free Proletarian' youths have broken away from the materialism of Marx; they resolutely oppose the alcoholism and sexual decadence of the great cities. The 'Protestant Youth,' more in touch than these with Christian tradition, pursue especially a mystical devotion to the person of Christ, but repudiate the dogmas and secular aims of the churches. While the much larger 'Catholic' group, with ramifications all over the land, seeks, according to its most authentic exponent, Foerster, to reawaken the ancient soul of the German people, long buried beneath modern materialism and *Staatskultur*, and historically and psychologically nearer to Catholicism than to the superimposed teaching and institutions of Luther. What all these groups have in common is the religion of youth, and if they do not, any more than the adherents of the older faiths, interpret its

[1] *Das Mass der Dinge* (Pinthus, *u.s.*, 270).

[2] The fullest account of the Jugendbewegung is that of Förster: *Jugendbewegung, Jugendseele, Jugendziel.* See also the succinct article in *Hibb. Journ.*, April, 1924, by Dr. Meyrick Booth, and Gooch's excellent summary, *Germany*, p. 311 f.

dictates altogether in the same sense, their practice makes with immense preponderance for social service, sexual purity, class fraternity, and international goodwill.

The Youth Movement is likely to be dismissed by the practical Anglo-Saxon as a mere expression of puerile and impracticable impatience of the discipline of ordered life. Such a view is wholly inadequate. The Youth Movement has severed or loosened the more galling bonds which tied its members to the old society; but they are everywhere forming new and more plastic modes of social cohesion. And that the new society thus constituted cannot be ignored in any attempt to interpret the post-war German mind, may be judged from the emphatic testimony of one of its leaders: 'The whole moral outlook of the young people of Germany is incomparably better to-day (1924) than it was thirty years ago.'[1]

From the Youth Movement, an organized attempt to escape from the mechanism of modern German society, let us pass to two other movements which in different ways seek rather to grapple with the mechanism, and to turn the machinery which wears and crushes human life into the other machinery which furthers and upbuilds it.

The first, of which only the briefest mention can here be made, since its counterpart has been familiar to us in England since the closing decades of the last century, is the attempt to put education of university rank within reach of the people. But if England originated the "university extension" movement, post-war Germany has carried it out, like some other English inventions, with a systematic thoroughness which we cannot yet rival. The foundation of 'People's Universities' (*Volkshochschulen*) began only in 1918, mainly through the impulse of a single creative mind. In 1924 a 'Volkshochschule' was at work in every German town of 150,000 inhabitants or upwards.[2]

The other movement is that, less advanced and far more difficult, which seeks to humanize labour under the capitalist system, by giving the worker more opportunity for self-determination and responsibility. The socialists had of course another solution for labour problems; but though the strongest party in the new State, they were not a

[1] Quoted by Meyrick Booth, *u.s.*, p. 473.

[2] An excellent account of them is given by A. Picht (*Contemp. Rev.*, Feb., 1924).

majority, and meanwhile the position of the workers grew worse. The great capitalists grew enormously in power and wealth, and were able to make largely ineffective the provisions of the Constitution designed to put Labour and Capital on equal terms. It is at this point that the new group of creative and progressive German thinkers steps in, among whom I name in particular Dr. Eugen Rosenstock, Professor of Law at Breslau.[1] 'What,' he asks in his illuminating pamphlet 'Living Work in Industry' (*Lebensarbeit in der Industrie*, 1926), 'What if there had to be ordinances designed to do justice not only to the worker as he is, to his actual wants and needs, but to the worker as he is to be? ordinances which will set free his creative power, and hew the path to that liberation through his passion to create? Such ordinances would complete and crown our social policy and our labour legislation, by giving free play to the need for power and passion. Thus, in place of the need for "protection" (secured by social legislation) and the need for political freedom (secured by labour legislation), there comes a need which is not even confined to the individual but, through the courage and vitality it inspires in him, redounds to the progress of the industry and thence of the nation at large.'

It is here, in fact, that we must look for one of the springs from which the German nation is to renew its strength. The mechanization of industry is a disease from which no country is free; but Germany's financial straits make reform at once more difficult and more urgent; and the very urgency is a stimulus to a crowd of eager and able brains to bring it about: 'Industry must recover by help of intellectual power what it has lost in financial resources.'

I cannot here enter upon the detail of the proposals made by Rosenstock and his colleagues. Enough, that they centre in the plan known in French as *commandite*, and already largely practised in French printing-works, by which a piece of work, instead of being distributed to the 'hands' by the employer, is handed over to the workers *en bloc*, who make themselves responsible for the execution, and themselves distribute the payment according to each man's

[1] Professor Rosenstock honoured us in Manchester with a visit of inquiry last autumn, and rejoiced, he told the present writer, in nothing that he saw and heard so much as in the discussion-classes at the University Settlement at Ancoats.

performance. This plan, which restores to the workman responsibility and duty, was hailed by the Union of German engineers in 1923 as the counterpart of the reforms by which Germany recovered her nationhood after the Napoleonic occupation. The comparison may be too grandiose but it is not meaningless. As the army of hired soldiers which was destroyed at Jena was replaced by the embattled host of Germany's youth which overcame Napoleon at Leipzig, so the German workman, becoming responsible, will learn to use his capacity to the full. In this willing and responsible, and not servile, service, the *Jugendbewegung*, which began as a mere revolt against the restraints of society and creed, may finally find the right solution of its needs, and at the same time bring about the spiritual emancipation of industry. 'If our young manhood takes this yoke upon itself,' concludes Dr. Rosenstock, 'the *Jugendbewegung* in the social order may in reality become that which a century ago the national army became for the state: the living stream whose tide, streaming through the lifeless mechanism of industry, may restore its forces and bring it to an effective action that will outlast the changing generations.'[1]

IX.

Thus widespread was the revolt against mechanism in society and life, and thus manifold the effort to replenish and recreate 'the German soul.' I have now to glance, finally, at the revolt against mechanism in the sphere of mind and thought. By this is meant the reaction, now extremely widespread in the intellectual centres, and in the younger professoriate of the universities, against those characteristics of modern German mentality which tend to atrophy or sterilize spiritual life:[2] the rigidity of a theological dogmatism inaccessible to fresh spiritual currents; the aridity of a scholarship punctilious in the search for 'sources' but scornful of spiritual values; the egocentric hardness of a capitalism obsessed with the vision of material power. The reaction against all these forms of mechanized mentality began long before the war; it was the reply of the spiritual forces of Germany to the materialist and military idolatries of the empire. It

[1] Rosenstock, *u.s.*, p. 64.

[2] Cf. the striking account of this movement in its various ramifications by Professor Gustav Hübner, of Königsberg, in *Hibbert Journal*, Oct., 1924: 'The Present Mind of the German Universities.'

gathered increased volume, naturally, with the empire's fall, and drew into its alliance men who were fighting for spiritual emancipation in other quarters and with other arms. Thus the exposure of capitalist mentality received powerful assistance from the historians of economics and religion, Weber and Troeltsch, who had traced the origin of capitalism, with its far-sighted abstention from present enjoyment for the sake of future benefit, to the Puritan's calculated asceticism for the salvation of his soul, contrasting both these types of the *homme clos*, with the instinctive and emotional vitality of the early Christian, who refused to take interest and was 'open' to all the winds of the spirit. And as these Christian and historical assailants of capitalism sought their ideal in the economic socialism of the feudal clan or the medieval guild, they found themselves joining hands with the medievalists of the reaction who looked back with longing to medieval Christianity.

The reaction from mechanism in scholarship, again, found its chief inspiration in the work of the great philosophic critic and historian of literature, Wilhelm Dilthey (d. 1910), whose profound interpretations of poetic experience, in 'Erlebnis und Dichtung,' opened a new way in the biography of poets; and who himself looked back, like the Neo-Romantics, to the Grimms and other masters of humanity and scholarship in the early nineteenth century. And the historians Weber and Troeltsch themselves, who had thrown so much light on the psychology of capitalism, contributed also, by their rich and many-sided apprehension of the meaning of history, to discredit the fetish of a narrow specialism.

The great personality of Ernst Troeltsch meets us once more when we turn, thirdly, to the reaction against the mechanism of dogma. His life-long wrestling with the problem of the relativity of truth has been described above. But the thinkers chiefly in question here were more directly concerned with theology and religion. They did not necessarily reject the dogmas of orthodoxy. In some vigorous reforming movements, both on the Catholic and on the Evangelical side, these are strenuously asserted. But they are approached otherwise than by ratiocinative processes. Mysticism, with its claim to an intuitive vision of God and communion with divine things, has always attracted minds of this type. And in the present century this attraction has been confirmed by the general discredit of 'intelligence' as an instrument in the discovery of truth, under the influence especi-

ally of Nietzsche and Bergson. Two remarkable books, among others, both enormously popular, though not with quite the same audiences, owed much of their vogue to the wide diffusion of this changed temper. The one offered a new path to the inmost sanctuary of religious faith, exempt from the barren logomachy of the creeds. The other opened new horizons to multitudes eager for religion but impatient of its conventional formulations. Rudolf Otto's 'The Holy' (*Das Heilige*, 1922), sought with great analytic and constructive power to establish the reality and significance of something that we recognize as Holy, as of the 'reverence' which it excites and demands. Otto was thus providing with a psychological basis the religion of three-fold reverence, for what is above us, like us, and beneath us, which Goethe sketched in a memorable chapter of *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre*.[1] The second book, Count Keyserling's *Travel Diary of a Philosopher* (1919), has far less pretence to psychological power, but is based upon a rich first-hand experience of oriental, especially Indian mystic, religion. Keyserling, whose verdict on Chicago was quoted above, is a philosophic nobleman who left his Esthonian seat to find 'the way to himself' by what he said was the shortest route—'a voyage round the world.'[2] He made the voyage, but he had found himself, as he thought, long before the close, lulled by the magic of India. India is the central theme of the 'Travel Diary,' the ruling preoccupation of the 'philosopher.' Keyserling's India is indeed his own,—an India in which the English are absolutely ignored, while the web of Indian religious life, obscure, intricate, subtle, many-coloured, is unfolded before us in a brilliant half visionary light. This book is indeed at bottom less a study of religious or other phenomena than, as Keyserling himself says, a 'poem,' in which facts are introduced, not for their own sake, but as means of expressing a meaning with which they have nothing to do;—an expressionist prose poem, in short. And this 'meaning' is not a doctrine but rather, as 'Nature' was for Wordsworth, or Imagination for Blake, a well-spring of inspiring thought and feeling;

[1] The kindred, but more definitely evangelical, book of F. Heiler, *Das Gebet*, 1918, is reviewed by Dean Inge in *Quart. Rev.*, 1923. Cf. Weinel, *ibid.*, p. 277.

[2] For a critical, if theologically biassed, account of Keyserling, cf. R. Hüpfeld, *Graf K.* Ein Vortrag. (Bonn, 1922).

not, in his own words, a theoretically-possible view of the universe, but a practically attainable state of mind;[1] a religion, in fact, disengaged from theology and ecclesiasticism, the spirit released from the doctrinal and institutional 'machine.'

Keyserling's book, though largely written before or during the war, was only published in 1919, and in spite of its bulk and difficulty, sold by tens of thousands.[2] Multitudes of educated Germans, who had witnessed the collapse of the stupendous machine of empire, felt the fascination of religions founded upon a disdainful abnegation of the material world. Keyserling, it is true, did not preach any such fundamental renunciation. He was at bottom too European to embrace unreservedly the passive negations of oriental soul-culture. He had, moreover, returned from India by way of the States, and despite his horror of Chicago, found that American 'efficiency' and American 'New Thought' had something to teach. His oriental mysticism received a Western embroidery. The German of the future was to become a purged and purified soul, but for the purpose ultimately of a purified and spiritualized citizenship.

The Esthonian baron who had made the pilgrimage of the world to find himself was not well equipped to become a leader of men or the founder of a religious sect. But he could not evade the implications of his own book. He had heralded a new faith, and loud and eager voices from many sides summoned him to show the way. Disciples flocked about him, and presently they organized themselves as a 'Society for Free Philosophy,' meeting for training and conference in an Academy or 'School of Wisdom,' at Darmstadt, and issuing a periodical 'The Lightbearer' (*Der Leuchter*). Keyserling, the actual 'bringer of the light,' provided a manual called 'The Way of Perfection.' Here, with German strenuousness and method, the spirit of Indian mystic meditation was wooed, and Rabindranath Tagore, its finest flower, whom Keyserling had visited in Calcutta (—'Never have I seen so much soul concentrated in a single man,' he wrote afterwards)[3]—came and lectured to the School. But Keyserling did not forget that he was training Germans, and for citizenship in the

[1] Keyserling, *u.s.*, Preface, p. xxvii.

[2] Gooch, *Germany*, p. 324. More recently the *Indienfahrt* of Waldemar Bonsel has touched a like note and awakened a like response.

[3] Keyserling, *u.s.*, p. 302.

German state. Their soul-culture was to be no recluse-meditation upon eternity, but, like the meditation of Goethe, the instrument and accompaniment of action.[1]

And Keyserling was not the only prophet of a new faith who offered to the hungry German soul the vision of a spiritual perfection to be had without the entangling apparatus of traditional dogma. The Darmstadt School of Wisdom had a parallel at Dornach in Switzerland in Rudolf Steiner's Anthroposophical Society, founded just before the war, and *The Way to Perfection* a counterpart in his *Threefold Commonwealth*, 1919. But a more powerful and original essay in the transfusion of the traditional spiritual values was Leopold Ziegler's 'Transformation of the Gods' (*Der Gestaltwandel der Götter*). This grandiose survey of the historic development of religion in the West is, like Spengler's more famous *Untergang*, an imposing intellectual fabric, reared to dizzy heights of speculation upon a basis of massive erudition. Both books are deeply stamped with the character of the German mind. Ziegler's theme recalls, and doubtless alludes to, the 'Götter-dämmerung' of Wagner: The reign of the old gods is over, Walhalla is in flames; but out of the ruin rise the deathless forms of Siegfried and Brynhild, symbols of immortal love. Ziegler, too, will save from the wreck of Christianity the precious mysteries which its genius conceived, but which remain after its passing, as instruments by which Man may realise the divine. 'Guilt and atonement, sacrifice and new birth, creation and redemption,—it is by these that Man, seeking to get beyond himself, wins apotheosis, even when he has long ceased to perceive gods above, without, or within him.' I am not here concerned with Ziegler's negations, but with his bold and impressive endeavour to save the ethical substance of the old faith; an endeavour the seeming futility of which may raise a smile, but which no one will deride who believes that the spirit of Christianity will remain, a deathless possession of humanity, whatever may be the destiny of its tradition or of its doctrine in the hands of the historian and of the philosopher.

[1] For the later career of Keyserling, see Gooch, *u.s.*, p. 326 f., and Weinel, *u.s.*

X.

Epilogue.

The ultimate drift of the mind of post-war Germany cannot be confidently gauged, much less summed up in a formula. We have been endeavouring, in the preceding pages to record some of the talk overheard at a vast national Symposium—a Symposium where the fellow-guests, as in a modern banquet, sit at separate tables, and discourse often of different matters and in divergent keys, dialects and tempers. At some of the tables there is brawling; at others abstruse and difficult argument; at few, gaiety or sparkling jest. No Socrates has yet appeared, to interpret the final purport of the talk, and lift it to its authoritative and convincing climax. Perhaps he is among the guests, and his turn is not yet come.

In the meantime, let us listen at the close to a few sentences of one who, if far enough from commanding the serene and assured sagacity of Socrates, had more perhaps of the visionary fire of the prophet than any of his contemporaries, and who met the prophet's reward. Walter Rathenau has already been mentioned (§ III.), but the outlines of his career may be briefly recalled. Born into wealth and power as the son of a great industrialist, he early showed the qualities of brain and character which use these advantages as a lever for enterprise, not as a pretext for luxury or indolence. By study in German, Swiss, and French universities, and then by travel in America, South Africa, and Russia, he won a rich equipment of sociological culture and observation invaluable to a nation-builder. Entering industry after his return he soon displayed a mastery both of technological science and of business organization which led to his appointment as sole director of the greatest of German electricity concerns, the 'A.E.S.' But the man who now stood almost on the pinnacle of the German industrial world was also an ardent idealist, who bitterly felt the price which was being exacted from German labour for the booming success of capital. His first book was in substance as in title a 'criticism of the time.'[1] In the soulless labour of the millions who worked that exquisitely elaborated machinery he saw an enslavement of the spirit to mechanism, an enslavement

[1] *Zur Kritik der Zeit* (1912).

in no wise redeemed by the profusion of resulting dividends which maintained a growing class of profiteers in affluent idleness. No socialist, he yet believed with the socialists that no society is healthy in which there is either a proletariat or a parasite; but his final measure of social health was not economic at all: the end of society was the development of soul.

The war only changed the current of Rathenau's gigantic activities. He had opposed its inception; but his organizing power was recognized by his appointment as first director of the Raw Material department. In the height of the crisis he found time to launch a plan directed to the elimination of the proletariat condition,—in his book 'Of Things that are Coming' (1917). The Revolution was at once too chaotic and too incomplete to satisfy him. Deeply aware of the weaknesses of the German state, of the hollowness of the imperialism and militarism which for a hundred years had diverted the German people from its true goal, and had now brought it to unprecedented disaster, he yet saw in the republican society which took its place only anarchical forces let loose, the demoralization of a people released from restraint, and reckless with want and despair.

He scorned the claim that the German people had effected its own revolution. 'It is not we who liberated ourselves: it was the enemy; it was our destruction that set us free.' In the compromise-Constitution of Weimar he saw only a wretched idea-less fabrication. But he believed profoundly in the final recovery of the German people. It was not the war only it had to recover from. It was that hundred years alienation from itself. 'We are endowed as no other people is for a mission of the spirit. Such a mission was ours till a century ago: we renounced it because through political slackness of will-power we fell out of step; we did not keep pace with the other nations in internal political development, but devoted ourselves to the most far-reaching mechanical developments and to their counterpart in bids for power. It was Faust, lured from his true path, cast off by the Earth-spirit, astray among witches, brawlers, and alchemists.

'But the Faust-soul of Germany is not dead. Of all peoples on the earth we alone have never ceased to struggle with ourselves. And not only with ourselves, but with our dæmon, and God. We still hear within ourselves the All; we still expand in every breath of creation. We understand the language of things, of men, and of

peoples. We measure everything by itself, not by us; . . . We are all alike and yet all different; each of us is a wanderer, a brooder, a seeker. Things of the spirit are taken seriously by us; we do not make them serve our lives, we serve their life with ours.'

'"And you dare to say this," interrupts a supposed hearer, "in the face of all the bemiring and brutalizing that we experience—the profiteering and gourmandizing, the abject submissiveness, the shameless desertions, the apathy, the insincerity, the heartlessness and mindlessness of our day?" Yes, I dare to say it, for I believe it and I know it.'[1] And so, he concludes the last and ripest statement of his views: 'Only on Thoughts and Ideals can our existence be staked. We can and must live by becoming what we were designed to be, what we were about to be, what we failed to become: a people of the Spirit, the Spirit among the peoples of mankind.'[2]

It was the originality and the greatness of Rathenau that this profound faith was not the subterfuge of a dreamer but the animating assurance of a mind incessantly occupied with the working out of his country's salvation in the complex detail of political and economic action. He thought synthetically and on a vast scale. The individualism of which we boast in England,—'every man for himself,'—was wholly foreign to him, frankly as he recognized the greatness of England's economic achievement. But so was socialism, which after dividing the whole wealth of the country among its citizens would leave each a proletarian. What he envisaged was a National Control of Industry, by the unification and standardization of the whole of German industry and commerce in one great Trust, working under a state charter. This was described at large in his *New Economics* (1918).[3] And his brilliant powers of dealing with political as well as economic facts were finally recognized by the republic of which he hoped so little, when he was called in to be Minister of Reconstruction and then, in April, 1922, Foreign Minister. In this capacity he went to the Genoa Conference as an apostle of peace and reconciliation, and no German statesman had yet impressed his Ally hearers as this man of genius impressed Mr. Lloyd George and M. Barthou, neither of them even approximately his equal in range of culture or in

[1] *The New Society*, p. 98 f. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 145.
[3] *The New Society*, p. 37 n.

weight of mind. His position was the stronger because he was convinced that the Treaty of Versailles, which he was now discussing over a council-board with its authors or sponsors, must perish of itself, since it was founded on hate. But his conclusion at the same moment of the Treaty of Rapello with Russia was an anticipation of the future too daring for ordinary judgments, and his mission to Genoa at once broke down. Then the baser passions that in those early days of the republic lay in wait for unpopular greatness came out of their lurking places, and in June, 1922, the most gifted, far-sighted, and high-minded of living German statesmen fell before the bullet of anti-Semite assassins.[1]

In one of his keen and remorseless analyses of his country's mentality, Rathenau declares that the German mind is without the power of creating forms, but has eminently the power of filling the forms it finds, or inherits, or takes over, with a richer content. And it may be that Rathenau himself, overflowing with ideas as he was and inexhaustible in schemes for helping his stricken country out of the morass, was less eminent than some others in the clear-cut thinking which gives structure to intellectual creation. But he had in extraordinary measure the wealth of mind, the quickness of heart and sense, the acuteness and comprehensiveness of imagination which make whatever is abstract, concrete and human and positive; which bring philosophy from the clouds to the service of the state and the factory and the home, and yet leave unimpaired the winged power which sees all things with larger, other eyes than ours. And in that union of opposite gifts, rare in this degree, yet deeply grounded in the mentality of her people, lies the hope of Germany in the future.

[1] In a letter to an intimate friend, recently published, Rathenau vindicates his claim to be a German. 'I have and know none but German blood, no people but the German. If I am driven from my German home, I remain German and it alters nothing. You speak of my blood and race, meaning the Jewish. With the Jews I have no bond but that which all Germans share, the Bible, memory, and the formation of the Old and New Testament' (to W. Schwaner, Jan. 23, 1916). A collection of Rathenau's letters from all periods of his life has recently been published by his mother.

GOETHE AND HUGO.

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"With two or three others, this paper, apparently hitherto unpublished, was found in Vaughan's desk after his death. It must have been put together shortly after Hugo died in 1885. It is carefully written in Vaughan's minute hand, almost without blot or alteration. One might describe it as a reasoned justification of the passion with which Vaughan had worshipped Hugo from his boyhood. But Vaughan's friends are not only grateful to the editor of the JOHN RYLANDS BULLETIN for publishing what will recall to them again his being and his voice; they feel that by those to whom Vaughan is only a name, this essay will be welcomed as a substantial contribution to the history of European ideas and as an illuminating achievement in literary criticism."—H. B. C.

IT has often been said during the last few months that, with Victor Hugo, has passed away the greatest man of letters who, since the death of Goethe, has appeared in Europe. If this is in any degree a true statement of the case, it becomes our business to determine what exactly is the debt which the world owes to Hugo; or, more accurately, what is to be found in his writings, for which we should look either with incomplete satisfaction, or altogether to no purpose, in the writings of other men.

It is noticeable that, for a century and a half, the literature of Europe has never, till now, been without an acknowledged chief. When Voltaire returned from England in 1728, he was already regarded, by his own contrymen at least, as the most brilliant writer of his time. When, after fifty years of incessant struggle he died, his position was laid on foundations far deeper and more fully assured. He had promised to be the most sparkling of court-poets, or, at best, the French representative of Locke and Pope. The work actually performed was something which, at the beginning of his career, might well have been thought beyond the reach of any capacity, however

great, of any resolution, however serious. He had stirred Europe more deeply than any man since Luther: he had overthrown, not only in France, but in Spain, Portugal and Italy, the order which had successfully turned back the tide of the Reformation: he had shaken the Christian Church to its foundations: he had paved the way for the movement which, a few years later, hurled down the Feudal System and the Monarchy in France, and opened a new period in the history of Europe.

Four years before Voltaire had passed beyond the reach of Jesuit hatred and Parisian idolatry, Goethe had startled Europe by the publication of the *Sorrows of Werther*. The mission of Voltaire had been to destroy: that of Goethe was to build afresh. The aim of Voltaire's writings had been to overthrow a rotten social and religious system: the effect of Goethe's was to put the individual on a fresh track and to create in the individual fresh powers. In respect of art, the world was, beyond dispute and beyond measure, a gainer by the change. In the fury of Jesuit-hunting Voltaire had exchanged the methods of art for those of polemic and caricature: in the best of his writings it is not the poet who sings but the Patriarch of philosophy and the Prophet of justice who denounces and declaims. But if the art of the great Frenchman was overpowered by the interests intellectual and moral—by the life—of the man, the exact opposite is true of his German successor: the life of Goethe, though not (as is sometimes said) throttled, is dominated by his art.

That the exclusive devotion to art and knowledge, which Goethe both by precept and example did so much to enforce, had a narrowing, as well as a widening, influence upon Goethe himself and upon the men of his generation should never be denied. On the other hand, in a long series of works, from the early Love Lyrics to *Die Braut von Korinth* and *Das Göttliche*, from *Götz von Berlichingen* to *Iphigenie* and *Faust*, from *Werther* to *Wilhelm Meister* and *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* Goethe aided (and in some respects surpassed) by Schiller, profoundly changed the conditions under which the art of the next century was to labour and gather in its fruits. By the time of Goethe's death the foundations had been laid for the Romantic movement, with its change in the form, and its corresponding change in the substance, of the drama and the novel. More than this, many splendid and massive fragments of the new fabric had been actually

built. And, what concerns us more closely here, the distinguishing merits of the new art, both in its promise and its performance, were just those which had been most strikingly absent from the old. In Goethe's work there is none of the consuming fervour for the good of men, none of the sleepless perception for large issues in the common life, which had made the greatness of Voltaire, and in another and a higher form, of Rousseau. But, in its stead, there is a penetration into individual purpose, into individual character, and still more into individual instincts and needs, which, in *Faust* and *Iphigenie*, opened out fields unknown even to Shakespeare ; a penetration of which there may have been some forecast in the great romance of Rousseau, but to which Voltaire at any rate could lay not the smallest claim.

More than fifty years had now passed from the appearance of Werther ; and Goethe still lived on, the undisputed king of a generation which had produced Schiller in Germany, Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats and Byron in England ; still ceaselessly active but still profoundly out of sympathy with much of what was most stirring and most fruitful in the great movement of his time. Two questions might well have risen before the men of 1830. Was the torch, which Goethe had caught from the hand of Voltaire, to be passed on yet again to a runner worthy of continuing the giant's task ? Would the men, who had drunk fresh life from the French Revolution, rest content with an art which appealed solely to the interests of the individual mind, which excluded rigorously all ideas drawn from politics and the common life, and which even in dealing with the individual, seemed, by its horror of strife, to shrink from representing what was decisive in action and what was masculine in character ?

Thirty years before the death of Goethe had been born the man who was to give the answer to these questions. By 1832 Victor Hugo had already published work in the three regions which were to make his name famous ; in the drama, in lyric poetry and in romance. What Goethe thought of his powers is on record ; and, though it was impossible that so tolerant a critic should fail to recognise the "fine talent" displayed in *Cromwell* and other writings, it is small surprise to know that the Patriarch of the generation which was passing, the Geheimrath of a Grand-ducal court, looked with more dismay than

admiration, on the "sublime child," the literary sans-culotte, of the generation which was to come. Nor is it certain that, even if he had lived to read *Les Chatimentes*, *La Légende des Siècles*, and *Les Misérables*, Goethe would ever have been able to bring an unbiassed judgment to the works of Hugo. The gulf between the aims and methods of the two men was great indeed. On what side that gulf lay, has already been indicated ; some attempt must now be made to sound its depths.

But, before entering on this task, it may be well to pause an instant. It is pleasant, as well as important, to remember that there is one point in which the work of the two poets is altogether the same. Both Goethe and Hugo freed the art of their country from insane restrictions in form, and opened out ranges of thought and feeling that, till their time, had been jealously shut or imperturbably ignored. What *Götz* and *Werther* did for Germany, that was done in France by *Hernani*, *Les Orientales* and *Notre Dame de Paris*. That in all these works, whether French or German, there are glaring faults, may be readily allowed : it is probably agreed that, either in design or workmanship, each one of them lacks the perfection which a work of art demands. But in all of them—and especially, it must be thought, in the drama and romance of Hugo—there is a vigour and a grandeur which gives them for their own sake an enduring and splendid value ; and which, apart from their intrinsic merits, made a greater epoch in the history of art than had been made since the time when the English Theatre had been called to life by Marlowe and Shakespeare. It was much to have written such stirring works ; to have struck a chord which had slept in the hearts of men for so long and dreary a space. It was still more to have prepared the way, to have tuned the mind both of audience and executant, for the yet higher strains that were to follow. For it is not too much to say that to *Götz* and *Werther* we owe *Iphigenie* and *Faust*, *Karlos* and *Wallenstein ;* and that, from the French movement of 1830, sprang not only *Hernani* and *Notre Dame*, not only *La Légende des Siècles* and *Quatre-vingt-treize*, but *La Comédie humaine*, *Les Lettres d'un voyageur* and *Lucrezia Floriani*. The importance of Goethe's work, as precursor, is generally understood : that the early writings of Hugo achieved the same result for France, we may take the word of the one artist who, in talent and character alike, was worthy to

stand by the side of her great countryman. "Quand on pense," wrote George Sand to Hugo in 1870, "quand on pense à ce que vous aviez fait déjà en 1833! Vous aviez renouvelé l'ode; vous aviez, dans la preface de *Cromwell*, donné le mot d'ordre à la revolution dramatique; vous aviez le premier révélé l'orient dans *Les Orientales*, le moyen âge dans *Notre Dame de Paris*."

On this ground then the Frenchman and the German might have met and greeted. To the art of his own country each was the prophet of liberty and new life. But agreement in matters of form will often and most naturally, mark complete variance in the more vital questions of thought and substance. It was so in the internal history of the romantic movement of France; it was so, at least as much, in the relation between the turbulent chief of the literary revolution in France and the serene high-priest of the corresponding movement in Germany.

Goethe, it has often been said, was the poet of the individual. That, however, is a very vague phrase, which might carry several meanings. It has often, for instance, been applied to Goethe's character; and taken, not unnaturally, to mean that, in aims and conduct, his life was essentially, though magnificently, selfish. The distinguishing peculiarity of Goethe's art has made this belief the more natural. There is no poet whose art is, to the same extent, the mirror of his life. "I have written," he said of the *Wahlverwandtschaften*—and the words would apply to much of his other work—"I have written not a single line which I have not lived myself." It has therefore been inferred that whatever quality is to be found in his art must have been visible also in his life. It might be enough to object that to attempt the interpretation of an artist's life by the analogy of his work, or of his work by that of his life, is a very misleading process, and one that might land us in very strange results. But, as there is little doubt that the appreciations of Goethe's writing has suffered much in England from a general belief in the selfishness of the man, it is worth while to look the charge of egotism in the face. It is conceivable indeed—but by no means certain—that, in his dealings with women, Goethe may have been led by a desire to preserve his own freedom, that would have been nothing short of deliberate selfishness. But his conduct towards his wife, and Minna Herzlieb, does not go well with such a supposition; and disposes us to take a

more favourable view of what is really ambiguous in his behaviour to Frederike and to Lili. The man who acted with so much generosity in the difficulties of his old-age may, it is reasonable to suppose, have been nothing worse than thoughtless in the aberrations of his youth. If he went wrong, it was not from an excess, but from a lack, of calculation. Again, if Goethe sacrificed his duties as a man to his freedom, as an artist, it is impossible to account for the pains which he took to remedy individual distress; and still more impossible to explain the readiness with which he gave up ten years from the very heart of his life to relieve want among miners and silk-weavers, and to set in order the affairs of a petty Thuringian Duchy.

Thus, when it is said that Goethe was the poet of the individual, it should clearly not be taken to mean that he was sunk in the pursuit of his individual interests and individual development. Nor again should the phrase be employed—as it has been by some—to indicate that, in his art, he represents the individual as isolated from the world and wrapt in solitary communion, if not with himself, at least with nature and with God. This might with truth, perhaps, be said of Byron: there would even be some plausibility in applying the words to the author of the First Part of *Faust*. But to the author of the Second Part of *Faust*, of *Das Göttliche* and *Wilhelm Meister*, they are ludicrously inappropriate. Take, for instance, *Wilhelm Meister*. If one thing results, more clearly than another, from that romance, it is the extraordinary importance which Goethe attached to the influence of society as it was, and the extraordinary effort which he made, not to replace society by the individual, but to recast and extend the influence of society upon the individual. One may think that, in the deference which he pays to court-life and the laws of deportment, Goethe adopts the language rather of a dancing-master or Ober-Hofmeister than of a supreme poet. One may think that in submitting to be the puppet of a society for improving others, Wilhelm loses all claim to the reader's interest, or to his own respect. One may think that Goethe gave a most exaggerated weight to the function of green-room and virtuosi, of proof-engravings and collections of medals, in the education of a great people. But what is not possible is to reproach him with ignoring, or with a wish to diminish, the importance of society. The man, whose hero is successively the tool of an artistic count, of a strolling band of players, and of a secret

society, must be said to sacrifice the independence of the individual too much rather than too little.

In truth there is no poet who has shown himself so alert as Goethe to the influence of surroundings and atmosphere upon the character of men, whether himself or others. From the perception, both conscious and unconscious, of this influence came both his weakness and his strength. The persons of his drama may lack the force of nerve and will which makes a heroic victim of Othello, and a heroic villain of Iago; they may have small trace of the concentration which forbids even the irresolution of Hamlet to fall before any power save its own insuperable weight. They may be weak to resist the powers of the air that breathe around them. But their very susceptibility gives them a wider reach than a more self-reliant will could master. That so diffusive a character is as dramatic, or, what is more important, as complete, as admirable, as one less tempered and more manly, it would be childish to pretend. But it is fair to note that, in the moral loss, there is something of intellectual gain. The insularity, which George Eliot is said to have deplored in Shakespeare, is an insularity, a noble narrowness, incident to all trenchancy of method, to all marshalling of strongly-opposed forces in the struggles of the soul. It is an insularity to be equally deplored in the righteous obstinacy of Prometheus and Antigone, in the superhuman defiance of Marlowe's Faustus, and, after its own measure, in the passionate resistance of Maggie Tulliver to the tyranny of hard-rinded fashion from without and of unloving self-indulgence from within. Of such insularity there is naturally small trace in the characters of men whose whole life is passed in the attempt, as with Wilhelm, to absorb from others all that their own nature could be coaxed to assimilate; or, as with Faust, to escape, by the effect of one magic draught, from their own nature altogether. Such characters serve for nothing if not to show how the will of man may be moulded by the currents, now corrupting, now regenerating, of a world wider than itself. It is not so much the individual soul, as the individual soul reinformed and refashioned by all the shifting influences of time and place that the hand of Goethe—and pre-eminently in his greatest drama and his greatest novel—has portrayed.

But yet—and this it is essential to remark—the ground on which men are cast, the medium in which they live, are never by Goethe studied for their own sake, but purely for the sake of the individual

whose growth they modify and support. And the full allowance made for the working of external forces upon the individual, during the process of growth, serves only to bring out in fuller relief the exclusive prominence given to the individual, in the result and general effect. Man is placed in "the confluence of two eternities" that more weight, more duration, may be given to the little moment in which he individually acts; he is painted in "the lucid interspace of world and world" that on his head may fall a greater weight of glory and worship. The work of Goethe in drama and romance is like the work of Leonardo in portraiture. A painfully-wrought landscape lies around and behind: unfamiliar influences of strange faces and other minds have left their mark upon the features: but all that either harmony with nature or fellowship with man can do is to bring out with yet more absolute insistence the lines of determined and self-centred isolation on the face. In Goethe the moulding hand of society and nature is everywhere seen; but it has lavished all its labour on shaping the clay of the solitary statue: this done, the plastic power has rested from its toil, satisfied that the finished work is very good. "It is now," we seem to hear Goethe say with Herder, "all that it was capable of becoming: it has taken to itself all that it could appropriate of the life and movement which surround it, and which originally gave it birth."

It is in this sense, and in this sense only, that Goethe can justly be called the poet of the individual. The individual is regarded as the resultant of the society in which he lives: but the only function of that society is to yield individuals as many and of as various a type as it is possible to conceive. And even when the light is shifted, so as to fall not on the individual, as influenced, but on those whom he in turn may influence, the working of a kindred thought is clearly seen. In the first place, the activity of the reformer is bestowed not for a general, but for an individual, end. Goethe's saviours are saviours not of society, but of the individual. And secondly, as a natural consequence, it is no common work, in which they share with others; they do not help a man to work out his own salvation, but work out his salvation for him, when they are not rather helping him with the end of working out their own. Goethe's ideal is not that of the modern democrat, or of the Christian: it is not even that of Greek civil life and of the reflection which that life finds in the Greek drama.

Lothario and Therese, in *Wilhelm Meister*, Mittler in *Die Wahlverwandtschaften*, descend at the opportune moment, like a *deus ex machina*, to make all things new. Faust, world-worn and weary of life, makes reforms with the result of saving his own soul. To all the end is not so much the work done, as the pleasure of the doing. "Die That ist alles, nichts der Ruhm: The deed is all, the fame is nought;" nought also, we might even add, the goal achieved, so long as the one imperious need—a need followed without haste and without rest—of eternal action is fulfilled. Thus even the great conception of Æschylus and Shelley has been strained through the limbeck of aristocratic superiority. The God who, for the Greek and for the Englishman whom the Greek and France inspired, had taken on him the form of equality, for Goethe seems to dwell aloof in a sublime laboratory of science. Prometheus is no longer the redeemer, but the creator, of mankind.

For the great issues at work in the common life of men—issues never more pressing or more vital than in his own day—Goethe had no eye but that of scorn.

Alle Freiheits-Apostel, sie waren mir immer zuwider.

All apostles of liberty—the name, it may be observed, is that constantly in the mouth of Mazzini—were abhorrent to him. The French Revolution—though, when called on for an epigram, Goethe pronounced it to be the birth of a new era—was to his art nothing more than a ground-work for the most perfect of domestic idylls. The revolt of the Netherlands was dramatised, not in the character of its historic leader—for that would of necessity have brought upon the stage something of the stir of the conflict between public spirit and oppression—but in the person of a man, historically weak and vain, dramatically the hero of a charming love-tale. The whole interest, so far as it does not centre round Clärchen, turns not on any public issue, but on the wisdom, or unwisdom, shown by an individual noble in venturing within the grasp of the destroyer. Throughout a drama, whose whole life lay in the deliverance of a people, the people appears only to play the part of Thersites or Pantaloon. And, by a just Nemesis, with the idea of freedom action also is banished from the play; we are left to contemplate the isolated acts, not the action, of a man so detached from passion as to lose all power, and even all

desire, to guide himself through the intricacies of a peculiarly intricate position. *Egmont* professes to end with the apotheosis of freedom, of its champion and its cause. But Freedom appears in the guise of an opera-nymph, or of a girl to whom the thought of freedom is unknown : the champion crowned by Freedom had not struck a single blow in her defence : the cause that triumphs, if it be not that of the arch-inquisitor, is the cause of inaction rather than of bold self-sacrifice and wise assertion of the rights and duties of a people struggling to be free.

The whole construction of *Egmont* may, indeed, justly be reckoned not only an intellectual, but (still more obviously) an artistic blunder. And yet, even in his dramas Goethe, with all abatements, still remains supremely great. The characters, and in particular the characters of the men, may lack substance, and even unity. But where shall we find so wide-reaching a picture of the relation between the world and the individual soul as is given in the first, and in fragments even of the second, part of *Faust?* Where shall we find so sure a hand for sounding the depths of rapture and despair, and the absorption of soul with soul in love, as in the story of Margaret? Where, finally, shall we find any approach to the subtlety with which the secret promptings and unbidden, almost unconscious, inspirations of the heart are laid bare, and their blending with the tougher fibres of resolve and will made palpable, in the Confessions of a fair Soul, in *Tasso*, and above all in *Iphigenie?* It is in these three regions that Goethe stands unsurpassed, if not unapproached.

And, if we go on to ask what was the quality that led him to excel in paths so divergent, the explanation is not very far to seek. If by dramatic power we mean the power to conceive strong situations, to work out strong collisions, then Goethe can not be called dramatic. "I have too much love of conciliation," he said of himself, "to write a great drama." Too much love of conciliation : it was this that made him turn with distrust from the two great convulsions of his time, from the great democratic movement of his middle life, and the great national movement of his old age. It was this that banished decisive action from his dramas, and blurred the outline of not a few among the richest of his characters. But it was this, also, that drove him behind action, to portray the tumult of a passion that has no outlet beyond itself, whose force, as that of a whirlpool, is spent in the sweep

of its own waters. It was this that led him, behind both action and passion, to trace the silent process by which, in the years of "apprenticeship," the character absorbs the influences which mould it for success or failure, or for the failure that may prove to be success, in the strain of after life. It was this that put him, abstracting from action, passion and development, upon the track of the secret springs which lie deep-buried beneath all crystallised character, and all conscious resolution; of the sources, where at moments the self retires "withdrawn into its depths" beyond the reach of its own reason, beyond the domination of another's will, unimpressible as the most wayward child, yet assured as the most determined man. "Das Ewig-Weibliche," in its fullest sense and its widest application, once for all to enclose this within the domain of art, that was the imperishable service of Goethe.

But this service had only been performed—perhaps, with completeness so triumphant, it could only have been performed—at considerable cost. Like his own hero, Goethe found the new world, the America, of which he went in quest. But from one half of the vast continent, and that the richest in startling forms of life, he turned with dislike and cold contempt. One side of the great revolution which happened in his time Goethe embodied, and indeed created. The other side, as though it were of no account for the purposes of art, he left to less delicate, though not to less creative, hands. The work from which he shrank has been splendidly achieved by the most remarkable among the dramatic poets who have succeeded him, by Mr. Browning and by Victor Hugo. What is most striking in the work of Goethe is its eternal calm, a calm intensified by the turmoil of destruction and new life that seethed around him. What is most striking in the work of his two successors is its unceasing struggle. On the relation of Mr. Browning to Goethe this is not the time to dwell. He, like Goethe, concerns himself with the individual; he, like Goethe, concerns himself with the inner workings of the soul, its reasonings and its instincts, rather than with the outward acts in which they are expressed. But by Mr. Browning reasoning and instinct alike are valued as the reflection or the symbol of deeds, accomplished or to come: by Goethe the process is reversed; and deeds, even when they are admitted, are valued as symbols and reflections of the soul that lies within. Goethe's characters, moreover,

are apt to shrink from action as from a snare, or to pass through it as in a dream: Mr. Browning's are of will and action all compact; the outer tissues of circumstance and habit are worn away, and the man is measured by the toughness of resolve laid bare beneath the scalpel of his remorseless judge.

And if it be "hurled from change to change unceasingly" is characteristic of Mr. Browning, still more is it characteristic of Victor Hugo. "Art is a conflict" was at once the motto, and the history, of his experience as an artist. "Life is a conflict," is the epigraph which gives the clue to every romance, and almost every drama—and, it may be added, to much, and perhaps that which is most valuable in the lyric poetry—that he has written. Whether dramatic, or lyric, or even embodied and so far entangled in romance, the poetry of Hugo is essentially the poetry of "combat." To indicate the main forms which this conception takes in his writings is all that now remains for this paper to attempt.

And, first, the struggle is placed in the individual heart. Through all his dramatic works—*Les Burgraves*, perhaps, and *Hernani* alone excepted—Hugo has sought to embody one idea: the redemption of evil by one germ of good. His men and women may have plunged in the waters of abhorrence and of hatred: they may face the world to all appearance proof against all softening and all amendment. But there is always found to be one spot that has escaped the charm: in the most subtly-welded harness one joint is left, through which the arrow of deliverance may pierce. There is no play—not even *Les Burgraves*—where the working of this conception might not be remotely traced; of most it forms the groundwork; in two, in *Lucrèce Borgia* and *Le roi s'amuse*, it fills the whole space from the beginning to the inevitable close.

The dramatic end, it may be said, was by the Greek drama sought through character absorbed in action; by Shakespeare, through character mirrored in action, though independent of it; by Goethe, through character apart from action; by Mr. Browning, through character reflected in the situation, stripped of all its surroundings, even of action itself, except as involved in the situation. The same end is by Hugo achieved through a reflection of the situation in the very texture of the character; through the enaction of a drama within the drama, the issue of which, as seen upon the first appearance of

the agent, enables us to foresee his outward fate, and yet to put it by, as irrelevant to the more pregnant struggle waged, the more momentous conflict lost and won, within. The most startling application of this conception is to be found in a play from which, at first sight, it may appear to be altogether absent. In *Torquemada* there is no conscious conflict. The assurance of bigotry, which in the soul of the great inquisitor, forbids, even in the presence of a sincerity as deep and a charity far deeper than its own, that a moment's scruple, a single tremor of pity should be felt. But the conflict is only removed from the conscience of the agent to be fought out in the mind of the spectator. And the solemn irony which sets before us the sincerest love, working, without hesitation, all the effects of the bitterest hate, has enabled the foe of church and priest to give a more sympathetic, as well as a more dramatic, picture of bigotry than the most undoubting Catholic would have ventured to portray. The struggle may be driven inwards from the action to the heart of those that witness : but its significance is intensified by this and not diminished. The tumult of the storm is less : but its force is the more terrible, and its scar has the more deeply penetrated. Thus, if we may take insistence on character, on what lies within, as opposed to insistence on action, on what happens or results without, to make the essence of the romantic, as distinguished from the classical drama, it will be seen that Hugo, not only in accidental reputation but in unvarnished fact, is the chief, the most unflinching adherent, of the romantic school. And, as further marked off from other writers of the same school, he is memorable from the revolutionary method, the spirit of conflict carried within the inmost circle of the soul, which stamps the most characteristic of his dramas and bears the inspiration of the great convulsion, which, whether in thought or in political life, discovered a new heaven and a new earth to the generation that preceded his. Whereas all modern dramatists, from Shakespeare downwards, have enlarged the scope given to character in the drama—in other words, have followed the romantic method—the work of Mr. Browning, of Victor Hugo and, to a certain extent (in *Don Carlos*), of Schiller, may be regarded as the resultant from a fusion of the romantic with the revolutionary spirit. And if this is true of the English and the German, still more is it true of the French dramatist. In Mr. Browning the revolutionary spirit is more reflected than directly seen ; it appears rather on its

intellectual, than on its political side ; rather in the greater sharpness with which the forces of the will stand out to confront each other than in the violence with which they may be launched against each other in passion, or against the outside world to triumph or to fall. In Schiller—or rather, in the one play of Schiller which meets the present case—the interest is indeed political, as it is not in any of Hugo's dramas, with the possible exception of *Les Burgraves* and *Torquemada* ; but the conflict between freedom and bigotry in the persons of Posa and the king, between irresolution and resolve in that of Carlos, though nobly conceived, is, by an exaggeration of the romantic instinct, buried so deep within the windings of intrigue that it wins no clear way to the light, and its significance, again and again, is lost. In Victor Hugo the interest, as has been said, is individual, not political ; but the man, who could conceive of individual life with such trenchancy, was not likely long to hold aloof from the world of politics. For the conflict, which, as has been seen, is the essence of his characters in the drama, is still more the informing spirit of political life ; and the charge of exaggeration, of elaborated antithesis, which may justly be brought against his weaker plays, against *Angèlo* and *Marie Tudor*, though not, it may be thought, against such plays as *Lucrèce Borgia* and *Le roi s'amuse*, was destined to fall ignominiously to the ground when the struggle was transferred without the soul of the individual, and the war carried into the country of the enemy. *Angelo* and *Marie Tudor* may be rightly set aside ; in *Lucrèce Borgia* and *Le roi s'amuse* some loss of literal, amid much assured gain of symbolic truth, may be reasonably admitted ; but he would be a bold man who should dare to lift a voice against the three impersonations of the revolutionary struggle, against the Royalist, the Jacobean, and the Idealist of *Quatre-vingt-treize*. The storm, that might seem too wild and loud when let loose in the mind of an isolated man, could scarcely be thought to outstrip nature, when its theatre was France, and its occasion the greatest event of modern times.

Here then it is plain that the idea of conflict has passed into a second shape ; it is no longer a conflict between the yes and no of an individual heart, but a conflict between the will and passion of the individual and the forces of the world arrayed without. This is the case not only with *Quatre-vingt-treize*—a work which, written in Hugo's old age, seems to reflect the stir of that other "year of terror"

which preceded its publication—but with *Notre Dame*, which dates from the year of *Hernani* and the Revolution of 1830, with *Les Misérables*, which dates from the middle of the poet's exile and bears the marks of the Revolution of 1848, and with *Les Travailleurs de la mer*. Here we are in the full sweep of the revolutionary tide. The romances of Hugo complete the work which his dramas, on a smaller scale, began. The idea is carried a stage further, to a wider application; the world, whether as religion, as society or as nature, and not the divided instincts of the single character, forms the barrier round which the issue of the action is fought out. But between the three earliest, and the latest, of these romances there is an essential difference of treatment: the idea of conflict, as applied to the outside world, is handled in two distinct ways, and assumes two distinct forms which must carefully be kept apart.

In the earlier romances, in *Notre Dame*, *Les Misérables* and the *Toilers of the Sea*, the whole action is thrown on the characters, few or many, or even on the single character, which may be taken to represent the cause of right. The opposing forces, even when, as in the case of Javert, they are incarnate in a living agent, much more when, as in the *Toilers of the Sea* and partially in *Notre Dame*, they are avowedly abstractions, are the blind forces of a resistance that is merely passive. This indeed should cause no surprise. For, on the one hand, artistically this was the method most nearly approaching that of the dramas: the action, which had been confined within the individual, was, though carried outwards, still confined to the individual. It may even be said that throughout *Notre Dame*, written in 1830, the exact method of the dramas is largely applied to the character of the loathly but unhappy priest, who is the hero of the tale. And, on the other hand, this, as it was the surest, was perhaps also the only way to secure the desired end: that end being to present in the forms of art an interest that was (to use the word in its widest sense) political, and therefore essentially abstract.

Again, it is a noticeable fact that, except perhaps in the case of *Notre Dame*, the struggle of the single will against the presence of political or natural forces from without fails to fill the whole canvass of the artist. "With the struggle forced on us by these three forms of Fate," Hugo himself writes in the great preface which states the purpose underlying these three romances, "with the struggle forced

on us by religion, society and nature, is combined a final struggle, one due to the final form which Fate assumes : the instincts, namely, of the heart of man." And this surely is but a necessary consequence of the abstract method adopted through the bulk of these romances. The abstract interest of the main theme would fall on deaf ears if it were not brought home to us by the human interest of the close. Neither in life, nor in art, is it possible for a man to be absorbed in a struggle against merely passive forces. Human nature rebels, and cries out for flesh and blood. Hence, after Gilliate, in the story, has triumphed over the winds and waves, after Jean Valjean has driven the stony embodiment of law and order to confess by suicide the limitations of his glacial ideal, a struggle still remains to be waged against the promptings of the heart within, against a love which, under given circumstances, it may be selfish to pursue. This, no doubt, looks at first sight like a return to the struggle between two elements of the character, which is peculiar to the dramas of Hugo. But, in truth, there is a wide difference. In the dramas the conflict is between two forces, each of which is necessary to the life of the will in which they meet ; it is instinctive, and it is irreconcilable. In the romances, two elements of course meet to form the character ; for otherwise no struggle would be even possible. But that is not the point on which our attention is turned. It is not on the abiding elements, but on the cause which brings them into momentary conflict that the light is thrown. The cause of collision is specific ; the conflict is not instinctive, but fully reasoned out ; it ends, not in mutual destruction, but on the triumph, for which expectation is carefully prepared, of tenderness and justice.

The same holds good of the struggle which forms the turning-point of the first book of *Les Misérables* and falls well within the main subject of the book ; that is, the conflict between the individual and social oppression. It is also true (if we may for a moment anticipate) of the struggle which leads to the liberation of the royalist general by the republican in *Quatre-vingt-treize*. In all these cases —and here the method is identical with that of other dramatic writers, of Shakespeare, for instance, and, after their own measure, of George Eliot and Charlotte Brontë—the conflict is not the ground-work of the character, but an incident in its development ; it is articulate, and not implicit. And, just because it is articulate, the conflict, in this

shape, involves a conception of progress, which had been absent from its earlier expression. We have left the region of fate and instinct for that of will and reason. Gilliate and Jean Valjean live by reason and are masters of their will, as neither Triboulet nor Lucrèce Borgia could be said to be and live.

Against the dramas of Hugo it has sometimes been objected that they are dominated by a conception of blank Fatalism. Now, if by Fatalism is meant the representation of Fate as external to, and yet supreme over, the individual will, this charge is by no means just. The Fate of Hugo is not, like that of Æschylus and (to a certain extent) of Sophocles, a compulsive force driving the action of the individual from without, but a form stamped on the material of the character, and giving it determination from within. In the dramas of Hugo, more than in those of any other man, the saying of Novalis finds justification ; that character is destiny. But, for the very reason that it is fused with the character, for the very reason that without it the character would be nothing, Fate is undoubtedly, in these dramas, represented as an influence which it is impossible to resist. In each of the plays which we have taken as typical of Hugo's dramatic work, the impulse of cruelty seems for a moment to triumph without reserve ; in each the triumph is followed immediately by a nemesis of defeat ; and the agent recognises too late that he has slain the love which is worth to him all the world besides, and that his true purpose has irrevocably failed. Dramatic irony—and dramatic irony would be inconceivable unless as the expression, in some sort, of a belief in Fate—cannot be carried further than it is carried in *Lucrèce Borgia* and *Le roi s'amuse.*

From the romances, whether in their primary or in their secondary aim, all this has been blotted out. So far as they deal with the struggle of man against society and nature, Fate is put outside him, and she is overthrown. So far as they deal with "the supreme form of Fate, the instincts of the heart," the struggle is deliberately chosen by the individual himself ; and the end, however much it may involve material defeat, invariably brings with it the triumph of the will. Thus we may trace a two-fold progress in the presentation of the idea of conflict, as given by the dramas and the romances of Hugo. In the first stage it is instinctive and inevitable ; in the second, it is articulate but imposed from without ; in the third, it is at once articulate and

deliberately invoked; it results in the voluntary loss, which is the highest gain.

And when we turn to the treatment of the same idea in the last romance of Hugo, in *Quatre-vingt-treize*, we find that it receives yet another modification. It may be thought an artistic weakness, it is certainly an artistic and even a moral necessity, of the earlier romances that in them there is a division, even a two-fold division, of the interest. The individual is opposed to the world of prejudice and nature, that lies outside him: the struggle of the individual with the world is opposed to his struggle with the instincts of his own heart. In *Quatre-vingt-treize* all these struggles and interests are blended into one. The political interest is no longer severed from the individual interest: the individual interest becomes political at the same time that it remains individual. The will of the individual is no longer confronted with blind forces that can be overthrown but with other wills no less persistent, no less imperious, than his. The will, which in the earlier romances was concentrated into one point, now fills the whole world with its resistant energy. Hence, on the one hand, a union of tragic and epic motive which is one of the most remarkable achievements in the records of art; and, on the other hand, an absolute impartialility as between the characters, with a sternness of compression in the action and the passion, which has certainly never been surpassed, and perhaps seldom been equalled, in the whole range of drama and romance. The world, which in Goethe was an impalpable influence creeping in at every pore and moulding at every moment, and which in *Les Misérables* was a blind force to be grappled and overthrown, has, in the crowning work of the French romance-writer, become incarnate in human will, without losing any of its power to represent wide issues and perennial currents in the history of man. Lautenac, Cimourdain and Gauvain are at once the most typical, and the most unerringly dramatic, among the creations of romance. The conflict has ceased to be that of a man with himself; it is no more that of the individual with a resistant, but irresponsible, world without; it has come to be a conflict between separate wills, each of which is none the less independent that it embodies a universal, as well as an individual, law.

So far we have been concerned with the French author only as dramatist and as writer of romance. But primarily Hugo is a poet;

and it must now be our task to indicate the relation of his poetry to the idea which has hitherto been traced in his Drama and Romance. The matter here is more intricate; and space compels a still more cursory treatment than could be given to the earlier part of our subject. It may be convenient to deal with the poetry of Hugo in two broad divisions; under the head of political poetry, and that which treats of nature and of God. Under the first head the chief volumes referred to are *Les Châtiments*, *L'année terrible*, and much, in particular of the first (and greatest) series of *La Légende des Siècles*. Under the second head come the volumes published before the exile of the author, *Les Contemplations*, and again *La Légende des Siècles*.

In political poetry, Hugo stands as much alone as in the writing of Romance. No poet, except Juvenal, has attempted a task resembling that which he has performed: and Juvenal, supreme as he is, could hardly claim to have struck so deep a chord as is struck in the volumes mentioned above. The poetry of Hugo in this department may be compared, indeed, with the romances written by himself before and during the period of his exile. The idea which underlies it is identical: the treatment is, fundamentally, the same. In the poetry, as in the romances, there is a conflict; here, as there, all the light is on one side, nothing but darkness on the other. Of course the difference of form involves to a certain extent, a modification in the treatment of the idea. There can be no question here of the completeness which is given to the representation of society in *Les Misérables*, of nature in *Les Travailleurs de la mer*. But, what is lost in completeness is more than compensated by the greater appropriateness of the setting in which the conception is put forth. *Les Misérables* claims to give a portraiture of society, as it always tends to be, as it actually was after the fall of the Empire and the Revolution of 1830 in modern France. As a fact, what professes to be a portraiture ends with being little more than an invective against existing institutions. In the poems the invective remains; but it is now given as invective and therefore now has a freer course, as well as a fuller effect, than when it was draped in a dramatic, or descriptive, veil. Again, a personality is in the poems given to the forces of evil which, as has been seen, was impossible from the aim of the Romances. Canute, Ratbert, Louis Napoleon are monsters of flesh and blood, and not the

impersonal, almost unaccountable obstacles, to the triumph of reason and justice, which are essential to the scheme of the romances. This paves the way for the more militant, the more immediately political, tone observable in the poems. We are no longer concerned with the long discipline wrought by the conflict on the will of the combatant. The cause is taken as heard, and the judgment as already given : all that remains is to secure a speedy conquest for the right, and a speedy downfall for the oppressor. Here there is nothing to interpose between the poet's wrath and the object on which it is to fall.

Satire and invective—which is a more direct, and therefore in worthy hands a nobler, form of satire—have never gone deeper and higher than in *L'expiation* and *La vision de Dante* on the one hand, and in *Le Te Deum du 1er Janvier* and *Le Jour des rois* upon the other. The poet of conflict was never more in his element than when crusading against tyranny and superstition. The spirit of Voltaire might seem to walk the earth again ; but of Voltaire raised and widened by the influence of the two movements, revolutionary and romantic, that since his death had renovated the world. The satire of Hugo—to use the word in a wider sense than above—is not less, but more, direct and uncompromising than that of Voltaire himself.

Nor is it only in the bare fact of writing satire that Hugo shows himself pre-eminently the poet of conflict. The specific form which his satire takes exhibits still more plainly the same tendency at work. Other satirists have branded what was unrighteous and contemptible. Hugo alone has confronted successful wickedness with the purity and justice which it had trampled under foot. No part of his satire is more characteristic, no part is more essential, than such poems as that on the child shot on the 4th of December, and the Hymn of those transported in *Les Châtiments*, or *Le Crapaud* and *Les pauvres gens* in *La Legénde des Siècles*. " Love he had found in huts where poor men lie : " and the discovery became all the more significant when contrasted with the hatred which he had seen in the high places of the earth. " Guerre aux palais " may have been his motto, as it was the motto of 1793 : but he had far more right than the Jacobins to the credit of the opposite demand, " Paix aux chaumières." It is the sincerity of his love for the oppressed which justifies his burning hatred for the oppressor. It is the appearance of the oppressed, to bear

witness in person against the oppressor, which makes at once the greatness, and the distinctive character, of his satire.

Finally, as in the Hebrew Prophets, there are poems, or passages of poems, where the tempest, from its very violence, takes the appearance of a calm; where the love and hatred, ordinarily contrasted, become fused into one; where tenderness for the weak and down-trodden is only felt in the solemnity, in the serenity of wrath, with which judgment is passed on the wrong-doer; or where loathing for the wrong-doer is only betrayed in passionate pity for the weak. The calm assurance of condemnation, the stern simplicity of tenderness, which we associate chiefly with Isaiah and Ezekiel, but which is no less observable in Dante, appears again in parts of the poems called *La vision de Dante*, and *Le petit roi de Galice;* and in the whole of that addressed Aux morts du 4 Décembre in *Les Châtiments*, of that on the boy taken at the barricades in *L'année terrible*, and of that on the punishment of Canute in *La Legénde des Siècles*. The fusion of two conflicting passions in these poems, as it marks perhaps the highest point which satire can reach, so is but another form of the conflict in which they are more usually ranged. In satire, as in Drama and Romance, conflict is the idea which underlies all that Hugo has produced. The idea is, as has been seen, carried a stage further, because it is worked out more consistently in satire than in Romance: but in both it is fundamentally the same.

In turning to Hugo's poetry of nature, we are, at first sight, met with a singular deviation from the conception which has so far been traced through the various divisions of his work. Occasionally, indeed, as in the *Toilers of the Sea*, man may be represented in the act of struggling with nature. But far more generally the very reverse of this is done. Nature is not commonly portrayed as the antagonist who wrestles with man, but as the superior who disdainfully mocks, or disdainfully instructs him:

> La nature est un peu moqueuse autour de l'homme—

this is a thought which, in one form or another, inspires the most pregnant of the poems in the early volumes, in *Les Contemplations* and in *La Legénde des Siècles*, of which nature is the subject. Nowhere perhaps does this appear more plainly than in the following lines of *Quatre-vingt-treize*, where the calm of nature is contrasted with the "puny passion-fits" of man:

" La nature est impitoyable ; elle ne consent pas à retirer ses fleurs, ses musiques, ses parfums et ses rayons devant l'abomination humaine ; elle accable l'homme du contraste de la beauté divine avec la laideur sociale ; elle ne lui fait grâce ni d'une aile de papillon, ni d'un chant d'oiseau ; il faut qu'en plein meurtre, en pleine vengeance, en pleine barbarie, il subisse le regard des choses sacrées ; il ne peut se soustraire à l'immense reproche de la douceur universelle et à l'implacable sérénité de l'azur. Il faut que la difformité des lois humaines se montre toute nue au milieu de l'éblouissement éternel. L'homme brise et broie, l'homme stérilise, l'homme tue ; l'été reste l'été, le lys reste le lys, l'astre reste l'astre."

The style here is Hugo's style : but the voice might well seem to be the voice of Goethe. There is, in truth, much in Goethe's way of regarding life which would well accord with such a view of nature ; and in some few poems—such as *Ganymed*, the *Fisher* and the *Erl-king*—some approach is found towards the application of such a thought even to nature. But more usually—and this enhances the difficulty—the relation between man and nature is exactly reversed. Nature is not superior but subordinate, to man. In man alone is found the reason, and the sense of proportion, by which the inequalities of nature are to be redressed. A glance at such poems as *Das Göttliche* and *Gott und Welt* will show that this is the fact : and a moment's reflection will prove that for Goethe any other conception would have been anomalous. However strong the weight he may have accorded to instinct, it is certain that law, set purpose, excellence prepense were the considerations which outbalanced all others in his conduct and his art. Instinct may save a man, when reason fails ; but it must be a distinctively human, not a merely natural, instinct ; and it must admit, in the long run if not at once, of being brought within the circle of ordinary reason. The obstinacy of Iphigenie is justified not only by the event but, when it is rightly understood, by the oracle of the God.

Thus, at first sight, the two poets seem to have changed places in the relative position which they assign to nature and to man. In the face of our expectations, it is Goethe, the poet of calm and of stoical resignation, who bids man struggle with nature and correct the injustice of her " iron law " ; it is Hugo, the poet of conflict and fiery resistance, who bids man be still and listen to the whisper or the wild rebuke

which nature utters for his guidance or his correction. A little consideration may show that in the case of Hugo, as in the case of Goethe, the fact can be rationally explained. What, on second thought and in spite of a strong tendency the other way, eventually decided Goethe to put nature below man, and instinct below reason, was undoubtedly the craving for proportion, the reverence for that which is a law to itself, as the highest embodiment of law, which he had inherited from the Greeks. The fight which man is counselled to wage with nature is a fight ordained in the interests of peace itself. It is only when, by conflict, nature is subdued to the will of man that the calm, which is Goethe's ideal, can begin for the life of man. Conversely, what induces Hugo to put nature above man, and by consequence instinct above reason, is zeal for the progress which, by so doing he seems to set aside, but which, only if set aside for the moment, could in his view be permanently ensured. The conflict is stayed for the instant, and in this region, that it may be fought more relentlessly in other fields. Man is bidden throw himself on the sustaining power of nature that from her breast he may drink fresh strength for the war which he is to wage with man and, when occasion calls, with nature.

The form which this conception takes in Hugo is either more or less explicit. In the earlier volumes of poetry it is less so, and its full scope is hardly recognised by the poet himself. It is true, indeed, that even here to him, as to Wordsworth, nature is greater and richer than man. What is wanting here, and what is present in the later poems, is the thought that what nature has to give to man is specifically combative energy and power of resistance. The earlier poems represent nature as the source of truth rather than of vigour. Many pieces in the earlier volumes, from *Les Feuilles d'automne* to the first volume of *Les Contemplations*, illustrate this line of thought. But there are two poems which fix with especial clearness the attitude of Hugo towards nature during the period which preceded his exile. The first, to be found in *Les chants de Crépuscule*, compares the mind of the poet to the bell, which, hung aloft, takes its tone from the changing atmosphere that surrounds it, and summons the men who toil beneath indifferently to revolution or to prayer. The second, published in *Les voix intérieures*, under the homely figure of some calves hanging at their mother's udder, paints man as throwing himself on the breast

of nature who, in her turn, "dreams of things to come" and of God. Nothing could show more plainly the dependence on nature which Hugo was apt to ascribe to man: nothing could show more plainly that it was not on the wild but on the tender and homely forces of nature that his eye was at that time fixed.

In the poems written after the beginning of his exile all is changed. Nature is still the source of truth, but she is the source also of action, for men. And this implies an essential change in the conception of truth itself. It is no longer sought with groping steps, but with some measure of assurance. There is a certainty in the note which nature, as the organ of truth, gives out through the second volume of *Les Contemplations* and *La Légende des Siècles* which is wanting, as the titles might indicate, to the poems contained in *Les Chants de Crépuscule* and *Les rayons et les ombres*. *Pensar, dudar*—to think is to doubt,—the title of one among the greatest of Hugo's early poems, might be taken to give the keynote of the earlier period: to think is to believe and do is the fundamental conception of his later writings. And if there is a mystical strain about the later, which was absent or but seldom present in the earlier, poems, that is no contradiction but rather a confirmation of what has been said. The great mystics, with hardly an exception, have been men of certainty, and not of doubt. Francis of Assisi was perhaps the greatest mystic recorded in history: but he was also the most believing figure in an age based, beyond all others, upon full assurance of belief.

It is rather, however, with the side of action that we are now concerned. But, before stating the specific form which Hugo's poetry of nature took in this respect, it may be of some use to touch on the main point which distinguishes him from other poets of nature, and in particular, from Wordsworth. To Wordsworth, as to Hugo, nature stood outside man, beyond him and above him. But to Wordsworth (if we except the poem called *Ruth*) nature is above man, as inspiring all that is good in him: to Hugo nature is above man, as inspiring all his powers indifferently, as giving the raw material on which it rests with him to stamp the form, good or bad, which gives to each force its distinctively human, its essentially moral, character. Compare such poems as the *Ode to Duty*, such lines as those on *Tintern Abbey*, where Wordsworth speaks of himself as well pleased to recognise in nature. . . .

> The anchor of my purest thoughts, the nurse,
> The guide, the guardian of my heart, and soul
> Of all my moral being—

with such poems as *Les Lions*, *Le Crapaud* and *Le Satyre* in *La Légende des Siècles;* and we have the measure of difference between the thought of the two poets. For Wordsworth, nature is always calm; it is "the sleep" and "the silence," "the depth and not the tumult" in her which he loves to see. To Hugo it is the storm and tempest, the strength and fury which seem the essential thing in nature. In themselves they are indifferent; they inspire the horror of the storm-wind and the malignity of the Devil-fish in the *Toilers of the Sea* as much as the Lion of Androcles, and the waves that console the exile or the forests that rebuke the bandit in *Les Châtiments*. But, when swept into the circle of human life even at their wildest, even at what appears to be their worst, they may be an essential element in the mysterious "formation of the law of progress." And at certain crucial moments of history, to have committed himself trustfully to their rushing tide has been necessary to man that he may be saved from himself, and exchange the exhausted soil of an old world for the rich life of a new. Thus, it might be said, at the Christian era, man threw himself on nature, and received the gift of love: at the Renaissance, he threw himself on nature and received a new conception of God, and a new sense of life and knowledge; at the Revolution, he threw himself on nature, and received freedom. The second of these periods, under a grand figure, forms the subject of *Le Satyre*, which, if we are to take any one poem, gives probably the most complete and splendid expression to the genius of Hugo.

To describe that poem would be an impossible and, it may be supposed, a superfluous task. It affords, in truth, an apt symbol to represent the "new birth" which, in the language of Michelet, "discovered nature and re-discovered man," and which, it might be added, brought religion, as Socrates brought philosophy, down from heaven to earth, snatching it from the hand of a priestly caste to make it the common possession of mankind. But what most concerns us at the present moment to remark is the faith with which, in this poem, Hugo trusts himself to the undisciplined powers which start from the depth of nature to play their part in the changed order of the world. The moments of history, which are wont to give pause most to other

men, are to him the most fruitful and the most inspiring. And that this is so, need cause but small surprise. It is in such moments that the idea of conflict finds its widest application, an application yet wider than was possible even in the strictly political poetry, or in Drama and Romance.

In the Drama, as we have seen, the struggle was within the character of the individual: in Romance it was between the individual and the world without. Here the battlefield is still wider. The struggle is in nature; and nature is but that writ large which in man is written small; man therefore is ranged with nature in the fight which, in detail always, on a large scale at the turning-points of history, is being waged against the powers of darkness. Man and nature are associated, almost identified: together they fill the whole circle of life; and they in turn are filled with the spirit of conflict. And, to enlarge the stage of action still further, that against which the conflict lies is either kept out of sight or but darkly shadowed forth. As with Plato the idea of the good, so with Hugo that of the bad is often little more than "an empty form." The whole creation groans and travails with the fury of resistance; but that against which the resistance is put forth, like the monster in the *Toilers of the Sea*, remains impalpable and almost invisible. So the omnipotence of the militant spirit is pressed more closely home upon the reader, and the way prepared for the future victory of that which must put an end to all need, in actuality, for resistance. To Hugo, as to Dante, the vital force, the prime mover in the world, however militant the forms through which it works, is love—

L'amor che muove il Sole e l'altre stelle.

It is the application of the idea of conflict to history and nature, and the harmonisation of man, as of history, with nature that gives so wide a reach to the best of what Hugo has written on these two subjects. He is a great political poet, and he is a great poet of nature; and he is one because he is the other. The reflection of man in nature, and of nature into man, the recognition of the same law of conflict working out to the same end in both man and nature, opens out a possibility of wider issues, and a more intense life, in his treatment of either subject. Of his political poetry enough has been already said for our present purpose. Of the effect on his dealing with nature one thing

still remains to note. The humanisation of nature, the penetration of her forms with the idea of conflict, has for its result to raise the vitality of nature to the highest point which it can reach. Bird and beast, even wind and wave, become instinct with the life, and combative energy, which we are apt to regard as the property of man alone. To nature may be applied the figure which, in one of the poems in *La Légende des Siècles*, represents Hugo's conception of history. The outer coating of the blind wall that fronts man melts away ; and the whole tissue behind, which he had taken for inanimate and dead, is seen to be built up from countless myriads of souls in ceaseless activity to weave "the web of being spun," in some cases blindly, in others with full consciousness.

> By man and beast, and earth, and air, and sea, as each are mirrors of
> The fire for which all thirst.

The whole work of Hugo, in this kind, may be said to fill up the conception of nature which Goethe sketched, but sketched only, in the speech of the Earth-Spirit :

> Geburt und Grab,
> Ein wechselnd Weben,
> Ein glühend Leben,
> So schaf' ich am sausenden Webstuhl der Zeit
> Und wirke der Gottheit lebendiges Kleid.

The last line, indeed, as applied to the work of Hugo, has its special fitness. His conception of life does not stop with the component parts, but is extended to the whole. Each part of nature may have a separate life : but there is a life, a personality for the whole which, in his view, is still more essential. "If the world had no individual life, man, who has it, would be greater than the world" ; or again, "I believe in nothing apart from God" :—this thought lies at the root of Hugo's way of conceiving nature, and forms the theme of not the least remarkable among his later poems, that of which the title is *A l'evêque qui m'appelle athée*. One of his earlier poems had ended with these lines :

> Frères, de ces deux voix, étranges, inouies,
> Sans cesse renaissant, sans cesse évanouies,
> Qu' écoute l'eternel durant l'eternité,
> L'une disait nature, et l'autre humanité.

Here nature and man are severed, and the conception of God stands apart from either. It is the chief work of his later years to have

bridged the gulf between man and nature, and to have fused both from end to end with the idea of God, a living and loving God, who works both through man and nature, indifferently in the tempest and the calm.

We have thus traced the gradual expansion of one idea from its simplest to its most elaborate application. The conflict which has here been regarded as forming the substance of so much of Hugo's work, has, it will have been remarked, at all the stages but one, ended in reconciliation. In *Quatre-vingt-treize* alone—where, as in Shakespeare, the energy of each will is too indomitable to fall before that of another, and which, it should be remembered, is avowedly a fragment—the end, as the beginning, is laid in inexpiable war. In the dramas atonement takes its most elementary shape: they may be regarded indifferently as ending in mutual extermination of the opposing forces, or in the final humiliation of the lower before the higher. In the romances the powers of darkness ultimately admit their inferiority to those of light and progress. In the later poetry, as the conflict covers a wider field, so the reconciliation is more absolute: Satan himself, after expiation, is received into forgiveness. This is vaguely foreshadowed in many of the poems contained in *Les Contemplations* and *La Légende des Siècles:* it is the subject of the closing poem in *Les Contemplations;* and it was at one time the intention of Hugo to follow *La Légende des Siècles* by two volumes, entitled *La fin de Satan* and *Dieu*, in which the idea of atonement, as correlative to that of conflict, should be elaborately worked out. The design of this poem was set forth by Hugo himself at the time when, now more than a quarter of a century ago, the first series of *La Légende des Siècles* was published: "L'épanouissement du genre humain de siècle en siècle, l'homme montant des ténèbres à l'idéal, la transfiguration paradisiaque de l'enfer terrestre, l'éclosion lente et suprême de la liberté, droit pour cette vie, responsabilité pour l'autre, une espèce d'hymne religieux à mille strophes, ayant dans ses entrailles une foi profonde et sur son sommet une haute prière . . . voilà ce que sera, terminé, ce poème dans son ensemble." No words will serve so well to state the high design, often so worthily carried out, of the French poet's whole work, of which some attempt has here been made to follow the development.

THE EARLY SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA.

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IN the last number of the BULLETIN (1926, pp. 80-111), Dr. Farquhar resuscitated from the grave of oblivion the question of St. Thomas' evangelisation of India. Almost all the critics of the latter half of the nineteenth century had pronounced a negative verdict on the question of the historicity of the mission of Thomas, and relegated it to the swollen catalogue of apocryphal fiction, classed in the domain of what we generally call a myth. In 1905, A. E. Medlycott, Roman Catholic bishop of Tricomia, wrote a whole book[1] on the general historicity of this mission of Thomas to India, and he wholeheartedly vindicated it without qualifications of any kind. This historicity was likewise strongly advocated seven years later by the Jesuit J. Dahlmann.[2] These two works, however, did not seem to have convinced many scholars, certainly not those of the Tübingen

[1] *India and the Apostle Thomas, an Inquiry.* This work represents the most detailed investigation of the mission of Thomas which I have so far seen. It is to be regretted, however, that the author did not show his work before sending it to the Press to a good Syriac scholar, who would have removed some bad errors that it contains. To give one example out of many: he insists, on p. 131, on the absurdity that the Syriac word *dukhrāna* (which he writes *doharana*), means "translation" of the relics of a saint, instead of merely "commemoration." The mission of Thomas is also discussed by the late J. F. Fleet, in *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, pp. 223-236, and by W. R. Philips in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1903, 1-15, 145-160. It is also favourably considered by the Roman Catholic Bishop Zaleski, *Les origines du Christianisme aux Indes*, Mangalore, 1915, and *The Apostle St. Thomas in India;* and by the Jesuit A. Wäth, *Der hl. Thomas der Apostel Indiens*, Aachen, 1925. See also some other authors mentioned below, pp. 505 and 508, and cf. Allgeier in *Katholik*, 1918, pp. 13 sqq.

[2] *Die Thomas-Legende*, 1912.

School, and in 1914 Richard Garbe,[1] the Indologist, disposed of all the 174 pages of Dahlmann's dissertation, and the 300 pages of Medlycott's work, in a few short passages. Garbe maintained that there was no ground whatever for reversing the verdict of the scholars of the nineteenth century, and endeavoured to prove that there are no traces of Christianity in India before the fourth century, or before the persecution of Sapor II., the Sasanian King of Persia. The beginnings of Christianity in India would thus be closely associated with the persecution of Sapor, which lasted with varying intensity from A.D. 339 to 379.[2] According to this theory the same thing would have happened in the fourth century as that which happened in the seventh. In the fourth century there was an exodus of Christian Persians to India in order to escape the Zoroastrian persecution of the Sasanian Sapor, and the seventh century marked the exodus of Sasanian Zoroastrians to India in order to escape the so-called sword of Islam. As the outcome of the second persecution marks the origin of the Parsee community of India, so the outcome of the first persecution would characterise the beginning of Christianity in India. In both cases, Persia would be the country of origin of the religious movement of India.

It is not our intention to refer in this short study to the Apostolate of Thomas, nor to the historicity of his mission to India. It may, or it may not be, true that Thomas evangelised the Indians, although we should find it difficult to reverse with a single stroke the constant tradition of the Church to this effect, from the second century down to our days. The *pros* and *cons* of the argument have been well analysed, with a conclusion favourable to Thomas' mission, by Dr. Farquhar, in his study mentioned above. What concerns us more here, is the history of early Christianity in India. Unfortunately such a history can only be written in our days in a very imperfect way ; the remoteness of the followers of Jesus of Nazareth living on or beyond the Ganges and the Indus from the centres of Christianity in Syria and Mesopotamia is one of the principal causes of the lack of historical data concerning them. The history of Christianity in Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia, and even Persia, is known through

[1] *Indien und das Christentum*, p. 147 sq.

[2] This date is established by the historian Mshiḥa-Zkha in my *Sources Syriaques*, i., 129.

native Greek or Syrian authors of those countries, who have handed down to us commendable works in which the principal ecclesiastical events that affected their land are clearly registered, and the Apostolic succession of their bishops plainly defined. What should we have done, for instance, without Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Mshiḥa-Zkha, and Jacob of Edessa, to mention only five names out of scores? The same principle cannot unfortunately be applied to India. No early Indian has ever written the history of the Church of India, and all our information concerning even the mere existence of a Christian community side by side with Brahmanism and Buddhism in the immense country stretching south of modern Afghanistan and Baluchistan to the Indian Ocean is almost exclusively derived from Syriac and Greek authors. Now these authors, having no particular interest in India, refer to the Church questions that affect it in a very casual way. Their references are at best *obiter dicta*, which by the nature of the case constitute only imperfect, disconnected, and scattered pieces of evidence. There are solid grounds, however, for believing that a fairly large Christian community existed in India from very early times. Some of its members may have been aliens of a Graeco-Roman, Aramean, or Persian origin, who had settled there for commercial undertakings, but the majority were undoubtedly Indians, by blood and ancestry, who had embraced the new faith for its own sake from Christian missionaries who had gone to them from Persia and Mesopotamia.

Clearer light may perhaps be thrown on the dim question of the history of Indian Christianity if the problem were approached from a different angle. The quickest way to India from Persia and Mesopotamia lay through the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea. Now all along the line on the Persian and Arab side of the Gulf, there were considerable Christian communities from very early times. Pherat-Maishan, the modern Basrah, at the northern end of the Gulf, was a Bishopric since A.D. 225,[1] and further south, on the Arab side of the line, the country of the Ḳaṭars on the highway of the sailing ships from the Persian Gulf is spoken of in history as having also bishops as early as A.D. 225.[2] In the Persian tableland, situated on the eastern side of the Gulf, and best known in Persian history under the name of

[1] Mshiḥa-Zkha in *Sources Syriaques*, i., 106. [2] *Ibid.*

Fars, a province which gave birth to the greatest Empires of Persia, the Achaemenian and the Sasanian, Christianity had also made great headway at the very beginning of the third Christian century, and the ecclesiastical metropolis of the province, the great city of Riwardashir, situated not far from the modern Bushire, played, as we shall presently see, an important rôle in the diffusion of Christianity in India. North of Fars was the province of Khuzistan, and its ecclesiastical metropolis Baith Lāpāṭ, afterwards called Gundi-Shapur, is also mentioned in history as having bishops since 225.[1] With this great array of a developed Christianity surrounding old India in its north-western, western, and south-western parts, we hold it to be somewhat improbable to suppose that there was no Christian community in the India of our days before the persecution of the Sasanian Sapor, that is to say, before the second half of the fourth century.

The way to India was not only strewn with bishoprics, but also with monasteries. We shall have occasion to speak below of the monastery of St. Thomas, situated on the shores of the "black island," and spoken of as harbouring two hundred monks (sic *Acta*) in the second half of the fourth century, say about 390. At about this time, the ascetic 'Abdîsho' went from Mesene, at the head of the Persian Gulf, to Baḥrain, and built a monastery in that island ;[2] the desert of Anbar, or Piruz Shapur, was indeed a granary of ascetics and solitaries from the very beginning of the fourth century. A monastery of St. Thomas, spoken of towards the end of the fourth century as containing two hundred monks, and situated somewhere south of Baith Ḳaṭrāye,[3] precludes the hypothesis that there were no Christians in India till the second half of the same century.

We have shown in our *Spread of Christianity in Central Asia*, 1925, that in the direction of the India which is bordered in our days by Afghanistan and Baluchistan, there were also Christian bishoprics and Christian communities of a rather large size ; there is, therefore, every possibility that a stream of Christian missionaries and merchants had also in the long past penetrated through the passes that connect India by land with its northern and north-western neighbours. However that may be, the main Christian penetration of India seems

[1] Mshîḥa-Zkha in *Sources Syriaques*, i., 106.
[2] *Chronique de Seert* in *Pat. Orient*, v., 311.
[3] See below, p. 450 sqq.

to have been by sea towards the west and north-west, and it is that side of Indian Christianity that withstood in later generations the many vicissitudes which, from the tenth century downwards, have completely destroyed its less fortunate sister Church of the north.

The first historical mention of the above bishoprics after Mshīḥa-Zkha, is in the Acts of Persian Martyrs, written towards the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth Christian centuries, say about A.D. 390-420. Amongst the bishops who in 341 suffered martyrdom with St. Simon, the Catholicos of the East, figure Gad-Yahb and Sabina, bishops[1] of Baith Lāpāṭ, John, bishop of Hormizd-Ardashir, and Bolida', bishop of Pherat-Maishan.[2] The bishops of the important district of the Ḳaṭars are next mentioned in the Synod of Isaac,[3] in 410, under the name of the bishops of the *Isles*, and the bishoprics of the islands of Baḥrain are also mentioned by name in this Synod, under the name of Ardu and Todūru (see below, p. 489 sqq.). Such an importance was attached by the Nestorian Church to the country of the Ḳaṭars, that one of the great Synods of their Church, that of the Patriarch George, was, in A.D. 676, held in that south-eastern part of Arabia. The Synod is signed by the Patriarch and six bishops of Baith Ḳaṭrāye, one of whom was an Archbishop.[4] As to the island of Socotra, the bishopric of which is attested by the Nestorian Byzantine writer Cosmas (see below, p. 461), it is possible that it was included by the General Synod of 410 in the above cryptic word "Isles," and that it had bishops of its own at a much earlier date. We should not be far from the truth were we to maintain that Socotra was a bishopric in about A.D. 300.

We do not deny that the persecution of Sapor gave a stimulus to the emigration of more Christians from Southern Persia to India; indeed there is every possibility that such an emigration did actually take place; but we do maintain that there is also every possibility that a Christian community of a comparatively important size existed before that time in India, and that it was more the existence of this

[1] The decrees of the Council of Nicæa were not in force in the Eastern Church till the Council of Isaac in 410.

[2] Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum*, ii., 131; *Pat. Syr.*, ii., 780-782.

[3] *Synodicon Orient.*, p. 273 (edit. Chabot).

[4] *Syn. ibid.*, p. 480. A commendable geographical and topographical sketch of Baith Ḳaṭrāye and the Bahrain islands in their relation to Christianity is found in Sachau's *Die Chronik von Arbela*, pp. 22-28.

community that attracted co-religionists from Persia in the time of the persecution than the bare sword of Sapor.

A second characteristic mark of Indian Christianity is that it has never had an independent existence of its own. From the earliest times to which our historical documents may be ascribed, to the time in which western missionaries first landed on its soil, we find the Church of India under the direct control of the more advanced Christianity of Mesopotamia and Persia. This Indian dependence is more clearly understood in the time which followed the Council of Nicæa, when the various Christian Churches of the world were grouped round important Apostolic sees, which claimed descent from an Apostle or a disciple of the Lord. Even the great East Syrian or Nestorian Church had in later years to attach itself to one of the new "Patriarchal" sees, and the "Patriach" of Antioch wished on more than one occasion to extend his spiritual jurisdiction eastwards, far beyond his original boundaries, until the Nestorian schism of the fifth century and the self-assertion of the Catholicoi of Seleucia nipped his efforts in the bud.

There are some local South Indian traditions passing under the names of *Thoma Parvam* and *Kēralolpatti*, in compilations very late in date, which deal with the mission of Thomas in native dialects and from sources which we are given to understand are foreign to the Syriac language and its *Acts*. In reality, however, they are of the same category as the three Malabar Syriac documents translated below, and like them, as we shall see, are devoid of good historical value for the establishment of early Christianity in India. Any attempt to speak of early Christianity in India as different from the East Syrian Church, is, in our judgment, bound to fail. Christianity in India constituted an integral part of the Church that began to develop vigorously towards the end of the first century in the Tigris valley, first in Adiabene, and then gradually in Mesene, and further south in Baith Ḳaṭrāye, and to speak of Indian Christians independently of the Syrian Church would be equivalent to speaking, for instance, of Adiabenian Christians independently of the Syrian Church. Thomas may have gone to India and made some converts there, but these converts have never had an independent existence of their own as a Church. History is absolutely deaf and dumb on their subject. They could not possibly have led,

for any considerable length of time, an isolated and precarious existence, cut off from all co-religionists, bereft of bishops, priests, and deacons, and deprived of Gospels or Christian sacred books of any kind. No Christian community has ever flourished under such conditions, and in our judgment, there is no doubt whatever that if there was any Christianity in India before the third century, it was linked up with its stronger and more Catholic sister of the Persian Empire and of South-East Arabia.

A third feature of the life of the Church of India is that it has never had a definite ecclesiastical language. In no time, till the arrival among them of western missionaries, had Christian Indians used any other language but Syriac. This fact proves, first of all, that not one of the scores of dialects spoken by India in the first century has been found fit to be raised to the dignity of a sacred language, in which the message of the Gospel could be expressed with dignity and aptitude; it proves also that the Indian Christians were satisfied for the upkeep of their spiritual life with the use of a language which their esteemed missionaries had made familiar to them. Another language besides Syriac might have been used in some Indian Churches, such as Greek, the mother of almost all ecclesiastical languages, and that for the numerous Egyptian merchants who might have found themselves more or less stranded in Indian ports, but no trace of such a use has come down to posterity; nor is there any impossibility in the suggestion that some lessons of the Old and New Testaments might have been submitted to writing for the use of the illiterate people, in one of the spoken native dialects, as it happened with the Palestinian Syriac for the inhabitants of Palestine; but if any Indian dialect, such as Tamil,[1] was ever used for ecclesiastical purposes, later generations have preserved no trace of it. The Indian Church, even more so than the Persian Church, has always been Syriac in its language, and it is mainly to the East-Syrian or Nestorian branch of the Syrian Church that Christian India owes a debt of deep gratitude.

How different was the case with some other Churches. When a Christological point arose which snapped the bonds which united one Church with another in a common language, or when such a Church grew to the extent that it was able to develop a spiritual entity of its

[1] Cf. V. Smith's *The Oxford History of India*, 1919, p. 144 (et passim).

own, it modified its own language in a way in which it was possible for it to express the new points of the Christian doctrine. This happened with the Church of Armenia, which till a relatively late date was making use of Syriac; it happened also with many Latin Churches, which in the first years of their existence were employing the language of Homer; it happened finally with many Churches of the Balkan peoples, and with the great Russian Church itself.

A fourth point which strikes forcibly the historian of Christianity in India is the geographical immensity of its land, in comparison with a precise town or country in which Christians formed a tangible community. Everywhere, except perhaps in a few towns of the coast of Malabar, the Christians must have been in a hopeless minority. We have, it is true, the unchallengeable testimony of a Nestorian Patriarch of the seventh century (quoted below), who speaks of Christians and of Christian priesthood as found in one thousand and two hundred parasangs of Indian soil, but unfortunately no attempt is made to furnish any number, however approximate. From the seventh century India was also the seat of a Metropolitan, who might have had some ten bishops under his jurisdiction; but what were ten bishoprics for the millions of India? Only two Indian districts can be singled out as having harboured somewhat numerous and very distinct Christian communities: the coast of Malabar, and the north-western regions, which were in close proximity to Persia and the Arabian Sea. These two districts probably represent the route followed by the early Christian missionaries in their efforts to shake the numerous local cults, and render them more amenable to the doctrine of the Galilean Master. Malabar represented the peoples mostly evangelised from the sea, the Persian Gulf or the Indian Ocean, and the Christianity of the north-western regions would constitute the answer to the efforts of Persian Christians, under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Riwardashir, in the ancient province of Fars, which gave its name to all Persia. We shall have presently a word to say of the great struggle that a strong Nestorian Patriarch had to maintain in the seventh century in order to detach the bishops of India from the direct jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Riwardashir, and bring them under his own ecclesiastical rule. Riwardashir is the key to early Christianity of N.W. India, and Malabar the key to early Christianity of South and Maritime India.

A difficult point with which a student of Indian history should be acquainted in his researches in the writings of early authors is the elasticity of the term "India," and the confusion made through it between the real India of our day and the countries situated on both shores of the Red Sea, viz. those of the Ethiopians and the Ḥimyarites. Many mistakes made by some ecclesiastical writers of the West can be traced to this confusion. It is hard to account for this confusion through a single cause or a single group of causes. The problem is probably complex, and we dare not here attempt to solve it in its various phases and developments.

One cause of the unfortunate confusion is possibly ethnological. Speaking exclusively of Syriac authors, we find that the majority of them classify the Indians among Hamites alongside the Ethiopians. This is done by Michael the Syrian, in his general history,[1] by the anonymous and early writer of the different races of mankind on the earth,[2] and by Barhebræus,[3] to mention only three out of many. Some of them classify them, however, among the children of Shem.[4] Probably the dark skin of the Indians lent colour to their classification with the Ethiopians. Another contributory cause would be the geographical situation of Ethiopia and Arabia-Felix, which extended on the main route by sea to the West Indian ports. Some writers of a more critical mind endeavoured to solve the problem by dividing their *India Magna* into many subsidiary Indias, such as *India Interior*,[5]—terms which are often applied to Ethiopia, *India Septentrionalis*,[6] *India Meridionalis*,[7] and *India Exterior*;[8] but as the precise geographical boundaries of all these Indias are very difficult to determine, the principal points of the problem remain unsolved. Indeed, many other writers count as integral parts of India some localities situated in Persia, Afghanistan, and Baluchistan. So the

[1] i., 18 and 32.

[2] *Chron. Minora* (in *C.S.C.O.*), pp. 351; see also *ibid.*, p. 357.

[3] *Chron. Syr.*, p. 7 (edit. Bedjan).

[4] *Chron. Min.*, p. 356, and Theodore bar Kōni in *C.S.C.O.*, i., p. 116.

[5] Assemani, *Bib. Orient.*, i., 359; Dionysius of Tellmaḥre's *Chronicle*, p. 55 (edit. Tullberg).

[6] Barhebræus, *Chron. Syr.*, p. 8 (Bedjan), etc.

[7] Michael the Syrian, i., 18, etc.

[8] Barh., *Chron. Syr.*, 174, 180 (edit. Bruns); cf. p. 8, edit. Bedjan, etc.

great Michael the Syrian clearly mentions the city of Kabul, in present Afghanistan, as part of India.[1] Another writer, supposedly of the end of the fourth century, counts Ceylon as India.[2] We will not dwell more on a point which constitutes only in an indirect way a part of our enquiry.

The number of ecclesiastical writers who applied the term India to Ethiopians and Ḥimyarītes is very considerable. A few Greek and Latin authors will be incidentally referred to in the ensuing pages. So far as the Syriac writers are concerned, we find that the confusion is much more frequent among West Syrians than East Syrians, and this also among those authors who by their remoteness from the theatre of events, or by their restricted general knowledge of Eastern peoples, had no marked acquaintance with the real India.

We will refer to a few Syriac authors and give the subject a rest, as it has only a remote connection with Christianity in India. The first writer to make such a confusion is Aphrāhāṭ: "It is the Archangel Michael who destroyed a thousand thousand of *Indians* before Asa;"[3] further: "And Asa also prayed and his prayer showed a great force. When Zerah the *Indian* came out against him with an host of a thousand thousand, Asa prayed. . . ."[4] It is obvious that "Indians" refer here to Ethiopians. The lexicographer quoted in the *Thesaurus*,[5] says: "India, and it is also called Havilah, is an Eastern country. It takes its name from the river Inda (= Indus). This river Inda has its source on the other side of the Nile, which contains crocodiles." The confusion here is as complete as in Aphrāhāṭ. The great Michael the Syrian is also emphatic on the subject. He writes in his history[6] two chapters, the mere titles of which should be sufficient for our purpose: "On the things accomplished by the Emperor Justinian (Justin) among the Indian and Kushite kings, and on the Kingdoms of the Indians, Kushites, and Ḥimyarītes, which bore witness to the truth in the year 835 (of the Seleucids) in the time of Justinian. . . . In the time when Justinian persecuted the orthodox believers, the Jews got the upper hand, and had a king. This happened because the kings of Great India quarrelled among

[1] Michael the Syrian, ii., 522.
[2] Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum*, i., 466.
[3] *Pat. Syr.*, i., 132, quoting 2 Chron. xiv. 9 sq.
[4] *Ibid.*, 153.
[5] Payne Smith's *Thesaurus Syriacus*, i., 1026.
[6] ii., 183-185.

themselves; the king of Exterior India, who was called Aksdon, rose against the king of Interior India, whose name was Anzug. When the Jewish king began to reign, he persecuted the Christians." The expression "Great India" seems to refer in Michael to both Ethiopia and Arabia Felix combined. This may have some bearing on a question dealing with a signatory to the Council of Nicæa (see below, p. 495). The same confusion is made in almost identical terms by Dionysius of Tellmaḥre,[1] and by another well known West Syrian writer, Barṣalibi, who writes as follows: "Lo, all the Armenians, Egyptians, Nubians, Ethiopians, and the majority of the Indians (i.e. Homeritæ), and the Libyans . . . accept the faith of St. Cyril, St. Dioscorus, and Severus the Great."[2] And he says further: "We Syrians, with the Armenians, Egyptians, Ethiopians, Nubians, and Indians, refer the *Trisagion* to the Son."[3] A similar sentence is also found in his treatise "Against the Chalcedonians."[4] Examples could be indefinitely multiplied among West Syrian writers. East Syrian or Nestorian writers who fall into this error are remarkably few. For them India is nearly always our modern India.

It is impossible to resist the temptation to believe that the knowledge of many early ecclesiastical writers of the West concerning India was very limited, and that the internal affairs and religious movements of the country were only judged by them very superficially, and almost exclusively through the vague words *Brahmans* and *Brahmanism*, which to their mind conveyed very little indeed. To some of them India seemed to represent a generic name for all the dark peoples of the East, or like Gog and Magog, to represent any Far Eastern country of which little was known. References in the Bible to India are few and obscure. We mention the Bible in this connection in order to examine whether our Western ecclesiastical writers have been misled by a difficult sentence found in it. The

[1] In Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, i., 359-385. Some western and more modern writers on the subject are quoted in Yule-Cordier's *Marco Polo*, ii., 431 sqq., and 424-427.

[2] From the unpublished treatise addressed to the deacon Rabban Isho'., Syr. MS., Mingana, No. 12, in Rendel Harris Library, Birmingham, fol. 128b.

[3] *Ibid.*, fol. 138a.

[4] Unpublished. See fol. 283b of Syr. MS., Mingana, No. 215, in Rendel Harris Library, Birmingham.

Hebrew word for India is *Hodu;* at least, this vocable has been generally understood to mean India in Esther i. 1, and viii. 9—which is quite possible, but not absolutely certain. In both places the expression used is "from Hodu as far as Kush." Even if the problematic *Hodu* referred in Hebrew to modern India, our Syriac authors could not have been misled by it, since the Syriac versions of Esther have in both verses, *Hud*, a term which could not possibly have conveyed to them the idea of our India. In 1 Mac. vi. 37 there is an allusion to the Indian drivers of war elephants, but it is improbable that the verse could have led to the confusion of India with Ethiopia. In 1 Mac. viii. 8 the word is clearly corrupt, and many commentators read the words "Ionia and Mysia" for "India and Media."

Perhaps the confusion may have originated first in the writings of classical historians, but here also we are in the dark. Herodotus[1] mentions India and Ethiopia as the most distant parts of the Empire; and towards the East he names India and Ethiopia as the extreme countries to which the dominions of Xerxes extended. It is this persistent mention of India with Ethiopia that is baffling. I cannot believe that the classical writers had any accurate knowledge of India before the time of Alexander, and even then India must have remained to many of them as a kind of a vague country, a half sealed book.[2] This indefinite quality of a sealed book is not removed by the identification (sanctioned by some ancient and modern commentators) of the river Pison, and the gold-producing Havilah of Gen. ii. 11, with the Indus and India.[3] All this is half fictitious and unscientific, or at best it is nothing more than a surmise.

In the ensuing pages we shall endeavour to refer to all the Syriac and Christian Arabic passages and surviving traces and monuments which we have been able to collect on the subject of Christianity in India. We will confine ourselves to early Christianity, and delineate its main features from the earliest times down to the introduction of monophysitism into South India, and the time when Western nations made their influence felt in it by means of their missionaries or soldiers.

[1] vii., 9.

[2] See a recent study on this subject by E. R. Bevan in the *Cambridge History of India*, 1922, 39-425.

[3] Gesenius, *Thesaurus* (s.v.).

We shall strictly avoid all controversial subjects, and not even mention the merits or demerits of the famous Synod of Diamper of 1599, which has rightly been characterised as one of the most interesting, and at the same time, one of the most melancholy episodes in the history of the Indian Church. It would be no betrayal, however, of our firm intention not to mix with the sectarian proclivities that prevailed in that Synod were we to state openly that several points discussed in it have been rightly condemned by all responsible Roman Catholic writers. In reading the *Jornada* of Antonio de Gouvea,[1] who recorded the proceedings of the Synod and the events that preceded and followed it, we cannot but deprecate the ignorance displayed by the western missionaries and prelates who took part in it, on many questions related to the East Syrian Church. A man like the learned author of the *Bibliotheca Orientalis* was not yet born to erase the many truly stupid things said in it concerning the greatest missionary Church the world has ever known.

It is hoped that this study will constitute a kind of a sequel to the monograph which we wrote in 1925 with the title: *The Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia and the Far East*. Another study on Christianity in Arabia and the Western Islands of the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea will exhaust the subject that we have in view.

As in our study of Christianity in Central Asia and the Far East, we will divide our subject into three parts, (i) General Historians, (ii) Synods and Bishoprics, (iii) Surviving traces and monuments.

(i) *Historians.*

Under this head we will only mention the passages and references which are not under the direct influence of the *Acts of Thomas* and his mission to India. Had we not done so, we would have swollen the dimensions of this study with useless quotations. It is the constant tradition of the Eastern Church that the Apostle Thomas evangelised India, and there is no historian, no poet, no breviary, no liturgy, and no writer of any kind who, having the opportunity of speaking of

[1] Published at Coimbra in A.D. 1606. Many English writers have spoken also of the Synod. See Hough's *History of Christianity in India*; G. Milne Rae, The *Syrian Church in India*; and M. Geddes, *History of the Church of Malabar*, etc.

Thomas, does not associate his name with India. Some writers mention also Parthia and Persia among the lands evangelised by him, but all of them are unanimous in the matter of India. The name of Thomas can never be dissociated from that of India. To refer to all the Syrian and Christian Arab authors who speak of India in connection with Thomas would therefore be equivalent to referring to all who have made mention of the name of Thomas. Thomas and India are in this respect synonymous.

(*a*)

We may state with some confidence that there was no Christian community in India known to the Syrian writers, in the first and second centuries of our era. The *Book of the Laws* of Bardaisan knows of the existence of no Christians in India in about A.D. 196. The argument taken from the silence of Bardaisan is very strong. After having discussed the habits of many pagan countries, he compares them with those of the Christians, and in this connection he contrasts the habits of Christian and pagan Parthians, Gilanians, Kushans, Persians, and Medes, but he does not mention the Indians as having Christians among them,[1] in spite of the fact that he had previously mentioned them in connection with their pagan habits.[2]

On the other hand, another Edessene writer, the author of the *Doctrine of the Apostles*, who flourished not much later than A.D. 250, was at least vaguely aware of the existence of a Christian community in India, endowed with priesthood. "India and all its own countries, and those bordering on it, even to the farthest sea, received the Apostles' hand of priesthood from Judas Thomas, who was guide and ruler in the Church which he built there, and ministered there."[3] The author of the *Doctrine* is not under the influence of the *Acts of Thomas*, but he clearly believes in the mission of the Apostle to India, and gives it as an established tradition in Edessa in about (or possibly before) the middle of the third century. We may question the grounds of his assertion concerning an event that took place about 180 years previously, but we are not at liberty to deny that his sentence implies the existence in India, at the time when he wrote, of

[1] *Liber Legum*, in *Pat. Syr.*, ii., 606-608.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 582-585 and 600.

[3] Cureton's *Ancient Syriac Documents*, p. 33 (from a MS. of about the fifth century).

a Christian Church, known to him at least from hearsay. If, at his time, the Church of India had ceased to exist, he owed it to his readers, who might have easily challenged his statement, to say a word to that effect. Since he did not write such a word, are we not allowed to affirm that they were perfectly satisfied that that Church was still extant in their time?

For curiosity's sake, we must here refer very briefly to the supposed mission of Pantaenus to India in 189-190. A reference to it was found necessary, since not very long ago it was accepted by two historians of the Church of India in this country,—Milne-Rae,[1] and G. Smith.[2] The arrival in India of the master of Clement of Alexandria is mentioned by Eusebius, the father of Church history, who writes[3] that Pantaenus "became a herald of the Gospel of Christ to the nations of the East, and went even as far as India," The indefatigable Jerome[4] refers also to Pantaenus' mission to India: "*ut in Indiam quoque rogatus ab illius gentis legatis, a Demetrio Alexandriæ episcopo, mitteretur.*" From Eusebius, the tradition is picked up by Rufinus in his translation into Latin of Eusebius' history: "*quem* (sc. Pantaenum) *ferunt cum ad Indos pervenisset. . . .*"

We need not dwell here on the well-known fact that from the mention of the mission of the Apostle Bartholomew and of the Gospel of Matthew, in connection with Pantaenus' supposed arrival in India, as told by the above writers, the India they refer to is without doubt Arabia Felix. The fact has been recognised by all historians since Assemani[5] and Tillemont,[6] and has been considered as established even by such a conservative writer as Medlycott.[7] It will be a matter of surprise if any responsible author will ever mention in the future Pantaenus in connection with India proper. We have already drawn attention to the fact that so little was known about India by many ecclesiastical writers of the West, that they often confused Indians with Yamanites and Abyssinians.

[1] *The Syrian Church in India*, pp. 64-70.
[2] *The Conversion of India*, p. 11.
[3] *Eccl. Hist.*, lib. v., cap. x.
[4] *Pat. Lat.*, xxiii., 651.
[5] *Bibl. Orient.*, iv., 602.
[6] *Mémoires Hist. Eccles.*, i., 387.
[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 177-182.

(*b*)

There is more precise information about Christianity in India in the third and the fourth centuries. The *Chronique de Seert*[1] informs us "that during the Patriarchate of Shaḥlūpha and Pāpa, say about A.D. 295-300, Dūdi (David), bishop of Baṣrah, on the Persian Gulf, an eminent doctor, left his see and went to India, where he evangelised many people." "Diese Notiz," Sachau has rightly pointed out, "ist zweifellos einem der ältesten Syrischen Geschichtswerke aus dem 7, oder 8, Jahrhundert entnommen."[2]

St. Ephrem, who died in 373, wrote many hymns on St. Thomas, which are under the direct influence of the *Acta*, but references in them might possibly imply the existence of Christians in India: "Lo, in India are thy miracles, O Thomas, and in our land is thy triumph, and everywhere thy festival. . . ."[3] "The sunburnt India thou hast made fair. . . . A tainted land of dark people thou hast purified. . . . More than snow and white linen, the dark bride of India thou hast made fair . . . the cross of light has obliterated India's darkened shades."[4]

To the end of the fourth century is ascribed the interesting life of the hermit Yonan, which was written by Zadōi, "priest, monk, and archimandrite of the monastery of St. Thomas in India."[5] The monastery was situated on the borders of an island termed "the black island," south of the country of Baith Ḳaṭrāye. The story which clearly presupposes a constant intercourse between South Persia and South Mesopotamia on the one hand, and South-East Arabia on the other, is based on the fact that towards the middle of the fourth century, Yonan, the anchorite, repaired from Anbar, or Piruz-Shapur, to the southern parts of Baith Ḳaṭrāye, close to the sea, and thence to the monastery of St. Thomas, erected on the shores of "the black island." Let us note in passing that the existence in about 390 on the shores of the Arabian Sea of a monastery under the name of Thomas is highly interesting, and constitutes the weightiest proof of all those which have so far been adduced to bolster up the historicity of

[1] In *Pat. Orient.*, iv., pp. 236 and 292.
[2] *Ausbreitung*, p. 71.
[3] *St. Ephræmi Hymni . . .* (edit. Lamy), iv., p. 703.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 701, and in *Brev. Juxta. rit. Eccles. Syr.*, vi., p. 631.
[5] Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum*, i., 466-525.

the mission of Thomas. Interesting also in the story is the narrative dealing with the inner life of the two hundred monks [1] (sic !) of the monastery in that far off period. Some of the proper names found in the story evidently imply a country like Baith Ḳaṭrāye, because they have an undoubted Arabian origin, such as Nu'aim,[2]—while some others have both an Arabic and a Persian savour, such as Zarḳūn ; [3] many also are decidedly Persian, such as Khusrau and Shahdost.[4] The story also makes mention of the existence of a Jewish community in the vicinity of the monastery,[5] and judging from the importance of Oman and Baith Ḳaṭrāye as centres of commerce between the East and the West, we cannot but believe that this last information is really historical.

Another important point in the narrative is the information that the country had a bishop and a rather elaborate chorus of clerics,[6] and that the monastery was constantly visited by solitaries from South Mesopotamia, then an integral part of Persia. A brother called Pāpa sailed, it is said, from Babylonia to pay a visit to it.[7]

We believe that in its broadest lines the story is historical. The great number of miracles found in it should not militate against its historicity ; a life of a saint was deemed by the ancients to be insipid without the salt of miracles, and the pious writers of all the stories of saints, especially of that class of saints which included monks and hermits, were really masters of their art in this respect, but the historicity of the personality of the hero of their narrative is in no way impaired by their fantastic narrative. It is all a question of taste ; in our days we want a sober narrative, not marred by any super-human deeds ; but our taste would have proved a stumbling-block to the writer, the hearer, and the reader of the lives of the old Fathers of the desert, including the lives of the great Anthony, the great Pacomius, and their immediate disciples. Another point to be considered in the story of Yonan is that its red titles are sometimes misleading, an obvious sign that they are not written by Zadoi himself, but that they emanate from the pens of the numerous copyists who have handed to us the original narrative.

[1] Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum*, i., p. 486.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 491. The reader should note that in the story the town of *Maron* may possibly be read *Mazon*, i.e. Oman.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 494. [4] *Ibid.*, pp. 497 and 510.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 501. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 507. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 509.

A critical study of the *Acta* is a desideratum, but we have neither time nor space to undertake it here. The words "black island" are generally understood to designate Ceylon[1] (Silan), or possibly the Coromandel Coast—situated, as the *Acta* say (*sic!*), "South of Baith Ḳaṭrāye." The points which will have to be thoroughly investigated apart from those referred to above, are: (1) the island was in the vicinity of a town called Milon, the inhabitants of which fished pearls (p. 494); (2) it was situated at a distance of six days' journey from the town of Maron (p. 492); (3) it had no grapes, its fruits consisting mainly of dates, but had many palm trees (pp. 489, 496, 497, 501); (4) its wine used to come from Persia (*ibid.*); (5) it had in its shores crabs of an enormous size (pp. 505, 507); (6) it was a bishopric (p. 507). Putting all these facts together, I believe provisionally that it is possible to assume that the island was not Ceylon at all, but one of those small islands situated south of Baith Ḳaṭrāye, on the way to Mazon and Oman, and that consequently the town of Maron found near it is to be identified with Mazon, on the southern shores of the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf. It is a well-known fact that in Syriac literature, Mazon (= Oman) is very often written *Maron*, and as often as not the word Mazōnāye (= Omanites) figures as *Marōnāye;* but was there really a *town* called Māzon? Is not this word commonly used in the sense of a country?[2] Further, on p. 468, we will translate a Syriac document of great value, which shows that a monastery of St. Thomas did exist on the Coromandel coast of India. The opinion, however, that the monastery of St. Thomas was on the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf, and not in India, is confirmed by the fact that Yāḳūt[3] makes mention of an old monastery of St. Thomas (*Dair Thūma*), and quotes about it a poetical piece by Marrār al-Fak'asi. It is not possible that an early Arabian poet should have praised the beauty of a monastery situated in Ceylon, or on the Coromandel Coast, or even on the Malabar Coast. In the absence of better data, I believe,

[1] So Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire Perse*, p. 306.

[2] The best sources for the criticism of Abbot Zadoi's narrative are: *Chronique de Seert*, in *Pat. Or.*, v., p. 246 sq. Isho'dnah's *Book of Chastity*, p. 441 (edit. Bedjan); 'Amr and 'Abdisho' quoted by Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, iii., 198; iv., 718. Cf. also, *ibid.*, 870-871.

[3] *Buldān*, ii., 649-650 (edit. Wüstenfeld).

therefore, that the Syriac "black island" may have been the island called "Kāwān island," or "Lāfit island," which according to Yāḳūt[1] was situated between Oman and Baḥrain. It was conquered by 'Uthmān b.a. 'Āṣ, to whom it served as a crossing in his attempt to subjugate South-West Persia. Yāḳūt informs us that for some unknown reasons the island was soon depopulated and completely forgotten, in spite of the fact that it had many villages and springs. The word *India*, therefore, used in the first heading of Abbot Zadoi's *Acta*, would correspond with South-East Arabia or Oman, and the otherwise obscure Abbot would then swell the number, already high, of the authors who counted that district of Arabia as part of India.

The first Western writer who makes mention of a monastery of St. Thomas seems to be Gregory of Tours, who died in 594. His text is as follows: "Thomas apostolus secundum historiam passionis ejus in India passus declaratur. Cujus beatum corpus post multum tempus adsumptum in civitatem quam Syri Aedissam vocant translatum est, ibique sepultum. Ergo in loco regionis Indiæ, quo prius quievit, *monasterium* habetur et templum miræ magnitudinis diligenterque exornatum atque compositum . . . Hoc Theodorus qui ad ipsum locum accessit, nobis exposuit."[2]

As Gregory does not specify the precise identity of the India of which he is speaking, it is not impossible to believe that the India intended by him was South Arabia; the very same old confusion is indeed clearly made by the author of King Alfred's embassy of A.D. 883: "The year 883. In this year the army went up the Scheldt to Condé, and they sat down one year. And Marinus, the Pope, then sent *lignum Domini* (a piece of the Holy Cross?) to King Alfred. And in the same year, Sighelm and Æthalstan conveyed to Rome the alms which the King had vowed to send thither, and also to India to St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew."[3] The mention of Bartholomew renders almost certain the opinion that King Alfred's India was not India at all, but South Arabia or Abyssinia.

Could not the two above narratives of western writers, who

[1] *Buldān*, ii., 79-80; and iv., 342.
[2] *Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*, by Arndt and Krusch, ii., 507-508.
[3] B. Thorpe's *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ii., 66.

seemed to know very little about India, be reconciled with the account of Abbot Zadoi and his "black island" (South of Baith Ḳaṭrāye) on the one hand, and Yāḳūt's "Dair Thūma" on the other? And, relying on the favourite theme of confusion between S. Arabia and real India, could we not suppose that the "monastery of Thomas" of the western writers was situated in South-East Arabia, near the coast of Oman, and that it was the very same monastery concerning which such vivid details are given by Abbot Zadoi? Would it be possible to assume that there were in the fourth century two monasteries of St. Thomas, one on the coast of Oman, and the other on the Coromandel Coast? Or would it be possible to suppose that between A.D. 394 and 594, some monks from the older monastery of St. Thomas on the coast of Oman had gone to Mailapore and built a new monastery of Thomas, on the supposed spot where he had suffered martyrdom? There are many difficulties to be cleared up before this last point can stand on its feet in the ground of practical possibilities.

The first truly circumstantial and historical mention of a *Church* of St. Thomas in our modern India is made by western travellers of the lower Middle Ages: Marco Polo[1] (1293), John of Monte Corvino[2] (1293), Friar Odoric[3] (1325), John de Marignolli[4] (1349), and Nicolo Conti[5] (about 1440), etc., but although all mention a Church or a Shrine of St. Thomas, none of them speaks of a monastery bearing his name. The first authentic Syriac document which speaks of a *monastery* in true India, bearing the name of Thomas, is, to our knowledge, the letter of the Nestorian bishops translated below, in which the word used is *'umra*, which commonly means monastery, but which is also used sometimes in the sense of a "church in which there is a shrine of a saint," "a church under the name of a saint in which the divine service is only given on the occasion of special festivities, generally the saint's own festivity." In the modern Syriac used in the villages of the present district of Zakho, *'umra* is often employed in our days to designate simply "Church." I have often

[1] ii. 353 sqq. (Yule-Cordier).
[2] In Yule-Cordier's *Cathay*, iii., 45.
[3] *Cathay*, ii., 141-142.
[4] *Ibid.*, iii., 230.
[5] R. H. Major's *India in the Fifteenth Century* (Hakluyt Society, 1857), p. 7.

heard the word used in this sense. It was however known to the Nestorian authors of the fourteenth century that a monastery of St. Thomas existed in India. So the Christian Arab historian, 'Amr (A.D. 1340), speaks of the saint as follows: "his tomb is in the island of Mailapore in India, on the right-hand side of the altar, in his monastery."[1] The word *dair*, used by 'Amr, is almost exclusively used to express a monastery, and, to our knowledge, never a church or a shrine.

The district of Baith Ḳaṭrāye, which in the vocabulary of the early canonists included also the district of Oman, gave birth to some of the best-known Nestorian theologians and mystics; it will suffice for our purpose here to refer to three of them, born before the Islamic invasion: Dādīsho' Ḳaṭrāya,[2] Aḥōb Ḳaṭrāya,[3] and Isaac of Nineveh.[4] Dādīsho' speaks of an ancient monastery as containing "many brethren serving God according to the monastic rule."[5] A favourite topic of their illustrations is the seaman whose ship is wrecked, and he is thrown on a sea island, preferably on an island of the Persian Gulf.[6] In the unpublished life of the monk Abraham of Kashkar[7] (sixth century), the saint is made to say: "I was a merchant of the number of those who trade and travel on the sea. It happened to us that on our way back from the country of the Indians, our ship broke up, and while the seamen were repairing it, I went to the island where it was anchored. . . . The ship was full of people, to the number of 300." Another monk from Baith Ḳaṭrāye who used to go frequently to India on business is Bar Sahde (seventh century) native of the island

[1] Assemani, *Bib. Orient.*, iv., 34. Mailapore, subsequently named San Thomé by the Portuguese, is in our days a suburb of the city of Madras, on the Coromandel Coast. Solomon of Basrah (about A.D. 1222), *Book of the Bee* (p. 105, edit. Budge), writes also: "Others say that Thomas was buried in *Mahluph* (= Mailapore), a city in the land of the Indians."

[2] I read his still unpublished commentary on the mystical work of Abbot Isaiah in Syr. MS. Mingana, No. 60, in Rendel Harris Library, Birmingham.

[3] I read his still unpublished commentaries in Syr. MS. Mingana, No. 58, in Rendel Harris Library, Birmingham.

[4] His mystical treatises have been published by Bedjan, and translated into English by Wensinck.

[5] *Ibid.*, fol. 87*b*.

[6] Dādisho', *ibid.*, fol. 114*b*.

[7] Fol. 26b of Syr. MS. Mingana, No. 252, in Rendel Harris Library, Birmingham.

of Dirin: "he used to go on the sea in the company of merchants to the country of the Indians."[1]

We will make here a great digression and give a full translation of the anecdote of Meropius and Frumentius, as preserved to us in a Syriac garb. We know it in Graeco-Roman sources from Rufinus,[2] Socrates,[3] Theodoret,[4] and Sozomen.[5] The Syriac authors derived it from the three last-named Byzantine historians, rather than Rufinus.

"*On the Faith of the Indians.*

"Because in the time of the King (Constantine), Christianity spread in all directions, the peoples also of the interior: the Indians, and the Iberians, were brought to it. I shall tell now how this happened to the peoples of the interior. When the holy Apostles went to evangelise the gentiles by casting lots as to their respective fields, Thomas received the mission of the Parthians, and Matthew was sent to Ethiopia, and Bartholomew had for his share that part of India which is close to Ethiopia; but no inhabitant of *India Interior*, in which dwell people of different tongues, had till the time of Constantine received the word of faith.

"At this time a philosopher called Meropius, from Tyre, desired to see this *India Interior;* he took with him two children, related to him, who were being instructed in liberal culture, and he departed with them to India. After having travelled there for some time according to his desire, he boarded a ship in order to return to his country. It happened then that the peace that was reigning between the empires came to an end, and the Indians took the Romans that were on the boat, and killed them all. None of them escaped except the two children; the Indians took pity of their beauty, and offered them as a gift to the king of India. The king was pleased with their beauty, and he made one of them, whose name was Edesius, the cupbearer of his table, and he raised the other, whose name was Frumentius, to the office of the Chartularius of the state, i.e., the director of the treasury of the state. After a short time, when the king became ill and was nearing his death, he confided his youngest

[1] Isho'denah, *Book of Chastity*, p. 487 (edit. Bedjan).
[2] Migne's *Pat. Lat.*, xxi., 478-480.
[3] *Eccl. Hist.*, bk. 1, cap. xix.
[4] *Eccl. Hist.*, cap. xxiii. [5] *Eccl. Hist.*, bk. 2, cap. xxiv.

son to them so that they might take care of him, and administer his kingdom.

"When the king died, the administration of the kingdom of the Indians devolved on the two children. They displayed especial care to look out for merchants who came from the country of the Romans, and they greatly loved and honoured them. They ordered them to build for themselves places of worship, and openly to perform the obligations of their Christian faith. Many pagans used to come and see Christian devotions and practices, and embrace Christianity without fear. When the young king reached the age of manhood, the children delivered to him the reins of the government, and the royal youth, because he was well instructed by the two children in knowledge, wisdom, and Christian religion, showed toleration and kindness towards new converts to Christianity.

"Then the two children asked permission from the new king to return to their country, and see their people, but the king and his mother tried to persuade them to remain with them; their entreaties were, however, of no avail, and they let them depart. Edesius repaired to Tyre, his town, but Frumentius went to Alexandria, where he met the great Athanasius, the head of the bishops (= archbishop), who had recently been promoted to the office he held, and narrated to him the affair of the Indians. He told him that the latter were expecting a bishop to explain to them the mysteries of the Faith, and asked him to send to them a bishop and a priest. Athanasius urged upon Frumentius to accept this episcopate; and he was thus ordained and sent to India. When he reached it, the king was pleased with him, and helped him in the building of churches. The faith spread in India, and the bishop became worthy of the gift of miracles."[1]

The story is told more succinctly by Michael the Syrian in his great history, in the following manner:

"At this time, a philosopher from Tyre, whose name was Meropius, went to the country of the Indians and of the Kushites with two young men, Edesius and Frumentius, in order to examine the nature and the character of the country. The peace that existed between the Romans and the Indians was then broken, and the

[1] *Chron. Anon.* in *C.S.C.O.*, xiv., i., pp. 145-147.

philosopher and those who were with him were captured in the open sea; the Indians killed them all with the exception of the two young men, who were delivered up to the king. They grew up with him, and he gave them their freedom at his death-bed. They remained with his son who reigned after him, and they obtained power over all the country of India, as Joseph had done previously in Egypt. They built a church for the Christians who were there, and instructed (in the faith) the king, with other persons. Then Frumentius went to Alexandria, and apprised Athanasius of the fact that the Indians wished to be converted to Christianity, and desired to be baptized; he implored him to send to them a bishop with him. Athanasius said to him: "There is no one more fitting than you to convert them from error." He persuaded him, ordained him bishop, and sent him. God performed through him miracles and prodigies. The question concerns here India Interior, because it was Thomas the Apostle who had preached in India Exterior and to the Parthians, and Matthew to the Kushites; but Interior India was converted at the time of Constantine."[1]

These two authors are endeavouring to correct by their remarks the impression conveyed by the Byzantine writers who understood the story as applying to India proper, instead of Ethiopia or Abyssinia. The very same mistake is made by Rufinus and others, who evidently failed to see the letter of the Emperor Constantius, as embodied in the *Apologia* of Athanasius.[2]

A much more important and trustworthy account is that concerning Theophilus the Indian, the head of a mission which the Emperor Constantius equipped and sent about 354 to the Sabeans, of South Arabia, to Abyssinia, to Ceylon, and to India. The sole historian of the mission is the Arian Philostorgius, as quoted in Photius's *Bibliotheca*.[3] The words which refer to India are the following:—

"Thence (i.e. from the Maldives) he sailed to other parts of India, and reformed many things which were not rightly done among them; for they heard the reading of the Gospel in a sitting posture, and did other things which were repugnant to the divine law; and

[1] i., 258.

[2] *S. Athanasii Apologia at Constantium*, in Migne's *Pat. Gr.*, xxv., 631-635; cf. Lequien's *Oriens Christianus*, ii., 643-644; and Medlycott, *ibid.*, 186-187.

[3] In Migne's *Pat. Gr.*, lxv., 481-489.

having reformed everything according to the holy usage, as was most acceptable to God, he also confirmed the dogma of the Church."

This statement implies, as Medlycott (*ibid.*, p. 198), rightly points out, (1) a resident congregation of the faithful, (2) Church services regularly held at which the Gospels were read, and (3) consequently a ministering clergy. This discloses a Christian community constituted in parochial form ; and if there be any doubt as to whether the congregation be indigenous or foreign, such doubt (4) ought to be set aside by the peculiar custom found among them, which consisted in hearing the reading of the Gospel in a sitting posture, a custom condemned by the Apostolic Constitutions (lib. ii., cap. 57) : "When the Gospel is being read, let all the presbyters, the deacons, and all people stand in perfect stillness."

There is hardly any reasonable doubt, therefore, that the Christian community of India in about A.D. 354, was an indigenous community, not much in touch with the practices prevalent in the Graeco-Roman churches, and was somewhat similar to the East Syrian Church before the time of the Catholicos Pāpa. Was it not also very akin to that found by Theophilus (*ibid.*) in Socotra, which he informs us, "made use of the Syriac language in their Church services ?"

(*c*).

The fifth century opens with an Indian Christianity which was in such a state of development that she is able to send her priests to be educated in the best schools of the East Syrian Church, and to assist the doctors of that Church in their revision of the ancient Syriac translations of the Pauline Epistles. In a precious colophon to his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, Isho'dad writes as follows : "This Epistle has been translated from Greek into Syriac, by Mar Komai, with the help of Daniel the priest, the Indian."[1] This important passage proves that the Church of India was about A.D. 425 in close relationship with the East Syrian Church, at the very beginning of the latter's scholastic life, which began at Edessa with the translation of the works of Aristotle.[2] Komai is one of the first translators of Greek works into Syriac, and it is gratifying to see

[1] *Horæ Semiticæ. The Commentaries of Isho'dad of Merv.*, v., 34 (edit. Mrs. Gibson).

[2] Cf. Duval's *Littérature Syriaque*, 1907, 246-247.

that his collaborators were Christian Indians well versed in the Greek sciences. The passage proves also that the ecclesiastical language of India was, at the beginning of the fifth century, Syriac and not any of the many Indian dialects.

This union of the Church of India with that of Mesopotamia and Persia, is rendered more evident by another scholar of the school of Edessa, Ma'na, bishop of Riwardashir, who, in about A.D. 470, wrote in Persian (i.e. Pahlawi) religious discourses, canticles, and hymns, and translated from Greek into Syriac the works of Diodore and Theodore of Mopsuestia, and sent them all to India: "And he despatched to the islands of the Sea (= Baḥrain), and to India, all the books he had translated."[1]

To this century belong two passages in the letters of St. Jerome, which we feel tempted to quote here. The first passage deals with Pantaenus, of whom we have already spoken, and is: "Pantaenus Stoicæ sectæ philosophus, ob præcipuæ eruditionis gloriam, a Demetrio Alexandriæ episcopo missus est in Indiam, ut Christum apud Brachmanas et illius gentis philosophos prædicaret."[2] In spite of the mention of the Brahmins—of whom St. Jerome had apparently heard—the India of whom he is speaking is most probably South Arabia, as stated above; that is to say, that India of which Socrates writes "India quæ Aethiopiæ confinis est,"[3] i.e. the India which is bordering on Ethiopia.

In the second passage Jerome informs us that he was visited in Palestine every day by monks from India, Persia, and Ethiopia, and is as follows: "De India, Perside, Aethiopia, monachorum quotidie turbas suscipimus."[4] There is no great probability that Jerome entertained daily crowds of monks from India. As in the first passage quoted above, the India of which he is speaking seems also to be Southern Arabia, that India which Socrates informs us is in close proximity to Ethiopia.

(*d*).

In the sixth century we have the *Acta Maris*. These Acts speak of the evangelisation of the Eastern countries by the disciple Mari, a

[1] *Chronique de Seert*, in *Pat. Or.*, vii., 116-117.
[2] *Pat. Lat.*, xxii., 667.
[3] *Eccl. Hist.* in *Pat. Gr.*, lxvii., 126.
[4] *Pat. Lat.*, xxii., 870.

pupil of the Edessene Addai. Much that is found in them concerning the Apostles, or the Apostolic times, is certainly legendary, but there is no reason for asserting that all an unknown author writes concerning contemporary events is false. The most uncharitable hypothesis that one can put forward against the *Acta* is that they are by an author of the sixth century, who was discoursing without apparently any written documents on events that had taken place in the first century; but no anonymous author would possibly write absurd things which could not be believed by his contemporaries. What he writes, therefore, must have been in harmony with the mentality of his readers, and may in this light be taken as representing a tradition current in his days. After having preached in the country of the Huzites, say the Acts, Mari "went down to the southern countries until the odour of Thomas, the Apostle, was wafted to him; and there also he brought a great number of people to the Lord, and detained in those countries a disciple named Job, to minister to them."[1] There is no doubt, therefore, that the author of the Acts of Mari knew, about A.D. 520, of the existence of Christians in the north-western parts of India, of which he seems to be speaking.

We will quote here the famous passage of Cosmas Indicopleustes, who travelled extensively in the countries beyond the Red Sea between 520 and 525. Although writing in Greek, Cosmas was a Nestorian, and technically, therefore, he is within the scope of our enquiry:

"Even in the island of Taprobane (= Ceylon) in Inner India where the Indian Sea is, there is a Church of Christians, with clergy and a congregation of believers, though I know not if there be any Christians further in that direction. And such also is the case in the land called Male (= Malabar), where the pepper grows. And in the place called Kalliana[2] there is a bishop appointed from Persia, as well as in the island of Dioscoris (= Socotra), in the same Indian Sea. The inhabitants of that island speak Greek, having been originally settled there by the Ptolemies, who ruled after Alexander of Macedon. There are clergy there also ordained and sent from Persia to minister among the people of the island, and a multitude of Christians. . . .

[1] Bedjan's *Acta Mart. et Sanct.*, i., 90.

[2] Probably identical with the still existing Kalyāni, on the mainland near Bombay. Yule-Cordier's *Cathay*, i., 220.

And so likewise among the Bactrians and Huns and Persians, and the *rest of the Indians*, and among the Persarmenians and Greeks and Elamites, and throughout the whole land of Persia, there is an infinite number of Churches with bishops, and a vast multitude of Christian people, and they have many martyrs and recluses leading a monastic life. So also in Ethiopia, and in Axum, and in all the country round about, among the Happy Arabians who are now-a-days called Homeritæ, and all through Arabia. . . ."[1]

Cosmas' text is important not only as regards the existence of Christian communities in Bombay, Malabar, and Ceylon, but also and especially by the addition of the significant sentence: and among the *rest of the Indians.*

Of Ceylon proper, Cosmas has a special entry: "This is the great island in the ocean, lying in the Indian Sea. By the Indians it is called Sielediba, but by the Greeks, Taprobane. In it is found the hyacinth stone. It lies on the other side of the Pepper country. . . . The island hath also a Church of Persian Christians who have settled there, and a Presbyter who is appointed from Persia, and a deacon, and all the apparatus of public worship. But the natives and their kings are quite another kind of people (*ἀλλόφυλοι*)."[2] Ceylon had, therefore, no native Christian Church in the beginning of the sixth century, and it is only a century after this date that the Nestorian missionaries succeeded in establishing an indigenous Christian community in the island.

The above quotations from Cosmas prove not only the existence of numerous Christian communities among many Central Asian people, in India and in the surrounding districts, but also the subordination of all of them to the Nestorian Patriarchate of Seleucia and Ctesiphon.

About the island of Socotra we have also the following testimony of some Arab travellers of the ninth century,[3] who write: "On the same sea is the island of Socotra . . . the majority of its inhabitants are Christians." We will also add the words of an Arab geographer,

[1] Edit. J. W. McCrindle, for the Hakluyt Society, 1907, pp. 118-121; cf. *Cathay*, i., 220-221, and Migne's *Pat. Gr.*, lxxxviii., 446.

[2] See some comments on this text in *Cathay*, i., 225-226.

[3] Edit. of Reinaud, i., 130.

Abu'l Fidā' :[1] "The island of Socotra is eighty parasangs in length, and its inhabitants are Nestorian Christians." The account of Marco Polo is well known :[2] "The people of Socotra are all baptised Christians, and they have an Archbishop. . . . Their Archbishop has nothing to do with the Pope of Rome, but is subject to the great Archbishop who lives at Baghdad. He rules over the bishop of that island, and over many other bishops in those regions of the world, just as our Pope does in these." Nicolo Conti writes about 1440[3] : "The island of Socotra is six hundred miles in circumference, and is, for the most part, inhabited by Nestorian Christians."

This was the state of affairs till the arrival of the missionaries from the West, as Francis Xavier's letter written from Goa (18 Sept., 1542) testifies.[4]

Towards the first half of the sixth century, we find a Christian community of the so-called Indians active enough, and numerous enough, to take part in the Christological controversies that animated the Christian circles living under the rule of the Empire of the Sasanians and of Byzantium. Michael the Syrian states[5] that in the time of Severus, the Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch, the error of Julian of Halicarnassus had penetrated into some Christian communities of India. It is, however, certain that the word *Indians*, used by Michael, refers here to *Ethiopians* and Ḥimyarites. The same incident is narrated in unmistakable terms by the historians, John of Asia and Dionysius of Tellmaḥre, as follows : (The staunch followers of the heresy of Julian of Halicarnassus) "went to the East and to the West, to the Metropolis, to Alexandria, and to all Syria, and they reached even Ḥirta of Nu'mān and the Persian territory, and one of them, called Sergius, went as far as the country of the Ḥimyarites . . . where he died four years later."[6]

(*e*)

In the seventh century we have the high authority of the Nestorian Patriarch Isho'-Yahb III. (650-660), whose text, translated below,

[1] Reinaud's *Géographie d'Aboulfeda*, ii., 128.
[2] ii., 406-407 (edit. Yule-Cordier).
[3] Major's *India in the Fifteenth Century* (Hakluyt Society, 1857), p. 20.
[4] In Coleridge's *Life*, i., 117. [5] Vol. ii., p. 251.
[6] Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, iv., 455-456; *ibid.*, ii., 87.

implies the existence before his time of a regular hierarchy in India, under the jurisdiction of the East Syrian (Nestorian) Patriarchate of Ctesiphon. In a letter to Simeon, Metropolitan of Riwardashir,[1] the illustrious Patriarch writes:

"Remember with these, O our God-loving brother, that as you closed the door of the episcopal ordination in the face of the many peoples of India, and you impeded the gift of God for the sake of perishable gains which kindle the passions of the body, so also did our predecessors close in the face of your spiritual necessities the door of the gift of God (i.e. episcopal ordination). . . . Because this gift has been, and is, imparted in the canonical way, lo, the world is full of bishops, priests, and faithful as numerous as the stars of heaven, and are still on the increase day by day. As far as your district is concerned, from the time you showed recalcitrance against ecclesiastical canons, the episcopal succession has been interrupted in India, and this country has since sat in darkness, far from the light of the divine teaching by means of rightful bishops: not only India that extends from the borders of the Persian Empire, to the country which is called Ḳalah, which is a distance of one thousand and two hundred parasangs, but even your own Fars."[2]

From this important text we infer 1° that a kind of a schism had taken place in the Nestorian Church in the middle of the seventh century. The Metropolitan of Riwardashir evidently wanted to usurp the power of the Patriarch in the ordination of bishops for India, and Baith Ḳaṭrāye (see p. 496). Previous to about A.D. 650, the Metropolitans of Riwardashir had some control over the bishops of India; this is in harmony with the quotation given above (p. 460) to the effect that Ma'na of Riwardashir sent to India his translation of the works of Diodore and Theodore. We infer 2° that there was a considerable number of bishops and priests in India, whose sees and parishes were apparently scattered in that vast country to the distance of one thousand and two hundred parasangs.

[1] The author of the ecclesiastical Canons which bear his name (Sachau's *Syr. Rechtsbücher*, iii., 209), and which were composed in Persian, and afterwards translated into Syriac by a monk from Baith Ḳaṭrāye. Note the frequent mention of Baith Ḳaṭrāye in connection with Riwardashir.

[2] *Liber. Epist.* in *C.S.C.O.*, lxiv., pp. 251-252 of the text, and in Assem. *B.O.*, iii., p. 113 sqq. The word *Pares* is here to be translated by *Fars*, and not *Persia* (see p. 468).

There is no doubt that the Ḳalah mentioned by Isho'-Yahb is the island of Ḳalah referred to by the Arab travellers whose accounts have been edited by Reinaud in 1845. In vol. i., pp. 93-94 of the text, it is written: "The King of Zabej counts also among his possessions the island of Ḳalah, situated half way between the lands of China, and the country of the Arabs. The circumference of the island is reported to be eighty parasangs." The island is also mentioned by another Arab traveller, Ibn Muhalhil,[1] who in A.D. 941 travelled overland to China and returned by sea: "Leaving Sindabil the traveller proceeded to the sea coast, and arrived at Ḳalah, the first city of India, and the extreme point made by ships sailing thence. If they go past it they are lost . . . Ḳalah is a great town, with high walls, and many gardens and springs." I believe with Reinaud[2] that the *Kalah* has a connection with Ceylon; indeed the whole of the south-east coast of Ceylon was formally known as *Galla*. Between *Galla* and *Kalah* the difference in the sound is very small. See a long discussion on the subject in Tennent's *Ceylon*.[3] H. Yule,[4] however, identifies it with the Coilum of Marco Polo, and adds that for ages Coilum, Kaulam, or as we now write it, Quilon, and properly Kollam, was one of the greatest ports of trade with Western Asia, while Cordier[5] is sure that it is to be identified with the modern Malacca or Singapore: "It seems to me certain that it is a port of the Archipelago, representing in a general way the modern Singapore or Malacca, and very possibly identical with Kadah (Quedah)." This last identification I am unable to accept. Another long discussion on the subject by Yule-Cordier is found in *Cathay*, vol. ii., pp. 129-130 (*q.v.*).

For the quelling of the schism that has sprung up among the East Syrian bishops of Baith Ḳaṭrāye, India, and Fars, Isho'-Yahb wrote also five long letters to the "bishops, the monks, and the faithful of Baith Ḳaṭrāye,"[6] ordering them to reject the bishops uncanonically

[1] Edit. of Scholoezer, *De Itinere Asiatico*, in *Cathay*, i., 252-253 (with some changes in the translation).

[2] *Ibid.*, ii., 48; and *Géographie d'Aboulfeda*, i., pp. cclxviii-cclxix.

[3] 3rd Edit. i., 582-606.

[4] *Marco Polo* (edit. Cordier), ii., 377.

[5] *Cathay*, 1915, vol. i., p. 253 (Hakluyt Society).

[6] *Liber Epistularum*, in *C.S.C.O.*, lxiv., 260-283.

ordained, and enjoining them to appeal ultimately in all questions affecting episcopal ordinations to the Patriarchal see, from which all spiritual power emanates. In the second of these letters[1] the illustrious Patriarch speaks of Christians found beyond Baith Ḳaṭrāye; but his sentence designates, in our judgment, the country of Mazon, and not Ceylon or India, as has been asserted by a critic, and refers to the Arab invasion and the defection of many Christians of that country to the Islamic cause:

". . . At this time in which you are in need of the great power of the help of God, in order to strengthen your faith by a strong rampart, as times require, in order that the glory of your faith in the Lord may not suffer by the damage that befell *the far off peoples on the other side of you.* While suffering pains with a God-fearing mind, like a man on whom is laid the burden of spiritual fatherhood, which in the Church of God is understood to extend to all, I deemed it wise to warn you in time, in order to avert from you the disease of lack of faith, which through the bad cause of a little while ago, affected the peoples *who live beyond you.*"

(*f*)

Towards the end of the eighth century we have the unchallengeable testimony of another Nestorian Patriarch, Timothy I. (A.D. 779-823), who in his letter to the mònks of Mar Maron, concerning the addition of the formula *Crucifixus es pro nobis* to the trisagion, writes as follows: "And also in all the countries of Babylon, of Persia, and of Assyria, and in all the countries of the sunrise, that is to say,—among the Indians, the Chinese, the Tibetans, the Turks, and in all the provinces under the jurisdiction of this Patriarchal See, there is no addition of *Crucifixus es pro nobis.*"[2]

Another authoritative statement is that of the Patriarch Theodose (A.D. 852-858), who mentions in his writings the Archbishops of Samarkand, India, and China.[3]

In case of the Patriarch Timothy, we may refer here to the difficulties that he experienced in bringing under the control of the

[1] *Liber Epistularum*, in *C.S.C.O.*, lxiv., pp. 262-263.

[2] This letter is not yet printed. I read the text in an unpublished MS. of my own collection in the Rendel Harris Library, Birmingham.

[3] Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, iv., 439, and iii., 617.

Patriarchal see the recalcitrant Metropolitans of that part of ancient Persia that bordered on India proper,—that is to say, those Metropolitans of Riwardashir who had under their jurisdiction the bishoprics of North-West India and Baith Ḳaṭrāye. Timothy I. found the same difficulty in reducing them as that experienced by Isho'-Yahb III. of whom we spoke above. "It is said that down to the time of this Timothy, the bishops of the province of Fars[1] were wearing white garments like the secular priests, were eating meat, and marrying, and were not under the jurisdiction of the Catholicos of Seleucia. They used to say, 'We have been evangelised by the Apostle Thomas, and we have no share with the see of Mari.' Timothy, however, united them, and joined them to him. He ordained for them as Metropolitan a man named Simeon, and he ordered him not to eat meat, nor marry, and to wear white garments made only of wool. He further permitted him to confirm the bishops whom he would ordain, without coming for such a confirmation to the Catholicos."[2]

Assemani and Lamy have rendered the above sentence of Barhebræus, which means: "the province of Fars," by: "the country of Persia." How was it possible that all the bishops of Persia were married and were not under the jurisdiction of the Nestorian Patriarch till the ninth Christian century? This will sound absurd to all those who have even a superficial knowledge of the history of the East Syrian Church. It was the Metropolitans of the province of Fars who were again rising against the authority of Timothy, as they often rose previously against the Catholicoi, his predecessors, notably Isho'-Yahb III. The point of the greatest interest is the authority or the argument on which they based their claim, viz.: that as they had been evangelised by Thomas the Apostle, why should they submit to the authority of a Patriarchal see which was only founded by a disciple. The point raised is very important, and the event having taken place not much later than A.D. 795, the passage would thus contain the earliest reference to the Christians of Fars and North-West India, calling themselves *Christians of St. Thomas*. Mari[3] refers the incident to A.D. 650-660, and writes in the life of Isho'-Yahb that "the previous (i.e. to the time of Isho'-Yahb III., 650-

[1] Translate here *Fars*, and not *Persia*. See below.
[2] Barhebræus, *Chron. Eccl.*, iii., 169-171.
[3] *De Pat. Nest.*, p. 55; cf. Assemani, iv., 422.

660) Metropolitans of *Fars* (and not of *Persia*) were not subject to the authority of the Catholicos of the East."

We may here remark that the word *Pares* refers in Syriac literature to all Persia, and also to the province of Fars alone. Many examples may be quoted for such a use. The *Synodicon Orientale*[1] calls the Patriarch Yahb Alaha "The Catholicos of Baith Lāpāṭ, of Nisibin, of Pares," etc. The *Synodicon* is counting here the number of the Metropolitan provinces of which the Patriarch was the first and natural head, and *Pares* can obviously refer only to the province of Fars. Thomas of Marga[2] writes: "And after these things, the Catholicos went down to Baith Ḳaṭrāye, in order to reconcile its inhabitants, for they had cut themselves off from submission to the episcopal throne of Riwardashir, which is Fars." The *Pares* used here can also designate only the province of Fars, and not all Persia. More quotations could be produced, but the above two will suffice for our purpose. A third example may be found in the letter of Isho'-Yahb III. quoted above.

(*g*)

Towards the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, we have an important Syriac document, which is to be considered as the swan song of the Nestorian Church before the time in which western missionaries made themselves felt on Indian soil. The narrative contains also an interesting account of the first landing of the Portuguese, and their bitter struggles to maintain the positions they had won. An unbiassed and contemporary account of this kind constitutes the most reliable information that we possess on the subject from any eastern source known to us, and we invite our readers to peruse it with care and attention.[3]

"In the year one thousand eight hundred and one of Alexander (A.D. 1490), three believing Christian men came from the remote countries of India to the Catholicos Mar Simeon, Patriarch of the East, in order to bring bishops to their countries. By the will of God, one of them died on the way, and two of them reached the Catholicos alive. The Catholicos, who was then in the town of Gazarta of

[1] P. 276.
[2] *Book of Governors*, ii., 188 (where wrongly rendered by *Persia*).
[3] Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, iii., 590.

Baith Zabdai,[1] was greatly pleased with them. One of them was called George, and the other Joseph. The Catholicos ordained both of them priests in the Holy Church of St. George at Gazarta, because they were well instructed, and sent them to the holy monastery of St. Eugenius. They took from there two monks, the name of both of whom was Joseph, and the Catholicos ordained both of them bishops in the Church of St. George. He named one Thomas and the other John, and he wrote to them admirable letters patent sealed with his own seal. After having prayed for them, and blessed them, he despatched them to India in the company of the Indians. By the assistance of Christ, our Lord, the four of them reached there alive.

"The faithful were greatly pleased with them, went to meet them joyfully with Gospel, Cross, thurible, and candles, and ushered them in with great pomp, with psalms and canticles. They consecrated altars and ordained many priests, because the Indians were for a long time without bishops. Bishop John remained in India, and Bishop Thomas, his companion, returned after a short time to the Catholicos. He brought to him gifts, presents, and a servant. It happened, however, that before Bishop Thomas had returned to India, the Catholicos Simon had died, aud left this wordly and perishable life for an immortal and imperishable one, in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirteen of the Greeks (A.D. 1502), and was buried in the monastery of St. Eugenius. May our Lord grant rest to his soul in the heavenly mansions! Amen.

"He was succeeded by Mar Elijah, the Catholicos and Patriarch, who also took from the monastery of St. Eugenius three pious monks, one of whom, brother David Arrīkha (= the tall), he ordained Metropolitan and re-named Mar Yahb Alaha; the next one, called brother George, he ordained bishop, and re-named Mar Jacob. He ordained all of them in the monastery of St. John the Egyptian, the carnal brother of St. Aḥḥa, which is situated in the vicinity of Gazarta of Baith Zabdai, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fourteen of the Greeks (A.D. 1503), and he sent them to the country of India, to the islands of the sea which are inside Java, and to China. The four of them reached there in peace and safety, by the assistance of Christ, their Lord, and they saw Mar John, bishop of India alive.

[1] The modern Jezireh, on the Upper Tigris.

The latter, and all the blessed believers who were there, were greatly pleased by the arrival of the Fathers. A year after they sent a letter to Mar Elijah, the Catholicos, but before its arival the Catholicos Mar Elijah died, and was buried in the Church of St. Miskainta of Mosul. He was succeeeded by Mar Simon, the Catholicos and Patriarch. The letter which the above-mentioned Fathers sent from India was in the following terms :

"To the second Simon, to the Papa of our days, to the Timothy of our generation, to the Joshua the son of Nun of our time, and to the Isho'-Yahb of our day,[1] to whom power has been given in heaven and earth to tend the flocks of Christ with the rod of Peter, which he has inherited by succession—Blessed is the people to whom this prerogative is due, and who has such a head and director !—Mar Elijah, the Catholicos and Patriarch of the East, the mother of the other parts of the world. May the Lord who raised him and helped him, strengthen him, exalt him, and render him victorious to the glory of Christendom and the uplifting of Churches ! Amen !

"Thy humble servants and weak disciples, the contemptible and the lowly, Mar Yahb Alaha, Mar Thomas, and Mar Jacob, and Dinḥa, the stranger,—fall down before thy pure and holy feet, and crave thy answered and accepted prayers for the assistance of their wretchedness, and humbly cry aloud : Bless O Lord ! bless O Lord ! bless O Lord ![2] May also Mar John, the Metropolitan of Atail, that temple of God and the treasurer of His service, the saint and the head of the saints, and all the other holy Fathers, pious monks, pure priests, elect believers, and all Christians of your side, receive our greetings in the Lord !

"Now we would inform thy love that by the assistance of God, and through thy accepted prayers, we arrived in the blessed country of India in good health. Thanks be to God, the Lord of all, who does not confound those who trust in Him ! All the Christians of this side were greatly pleased with us, and our Father Mar John is still alive and hale and sends thee his greetings. There are here about thirty thousand families of Christians, our co-religionists, and they implore the Lord to grant thee a long life. They have begun to

[1] All the above are names of Patriarchs of the East Syrian Church.
[2] Syriac address to a Patriarch or a bishop.

build new churches, are prosperous in every respect, and living in peace and security: May God be praised! As to the monastery of St. Thomas the Apostle, some Christian men have gone into it, have inhabited it, and are now busy restoring it; it is distant about twenty-five days from the above-mentioned Christians; it is on the shores of the sea in a town called Mailapore, in the country of Silan,[1] one of the Indian countries. The countries of India are very numerous and powerful, and their distance is about six months' journey. Each country has a special name by which it is known, and our country in which the Christians are found is called Malabar. It has about twenty towns, out of which three are renowned and powerful: Karangol, Pallur, and Kullam, with others that are near them. They contain Christians and churches, and are in the vicinity of the large and powerful city of Calicut, the inhabitants of which are idol-worshipping pagans.

"Let it be also known to you, O Fathers, that the king of the Christians of the West, who are the Franks our brethren, sent to this country powerful ships, and they were a whole year on the sea before they reached us. They came in a southerly direction on the other side of the country of Ethiopia, that is to say, Ḥabash (= negroes), and they arrived at this country of India, where they bought pepper and other similar spices, and they returned to their country. Then they studied the way and learned it well. Thereupon the above-mentioned king, may God preserve his life, sent six large ships which reached the town of Calicut in six months, because they had studied and learned the sea route. Now in the town of Calicut there are many Mohammedans, whom envy has enraged and maddened against the Christians. They accused them before the pagan king, uttered lies concerning them, and said: 'These men have come from the West, and have seen thy country and thy beautiful towns; they will return to their king and they will bring numerous armies on ships against thee; they will besiege thee, and take thy country from thee.'

"The pagan king listened to the words of the Mohammedans, and yielded to their wish. Like a madman he rose and killed all the above-named Franks who were in his town to the number of seventy

[1] We preserve the Syriac form of the Indian names.

men, with five pious priests who were with them, because they do not travel anywhere without priests. The remainder of the men who were on the ships went by sea with great grief and bitter weeping to the neighbourhood of our Christians, to a town called Cochin, which had also a pagan king. When he noticed that they were in great trouble and sorrowful pain, he summoned them to him, comforted them, and swore to them that he would not betray them even in order to save his own life. But when the impious king who had massacred their companions heard this, he was incensed, and he mustered a great army, and went forth against them. The Franks, and the king with whom they were, escaped to a fort on the shores of the sea, where they remained a few days.

"Then Christ had pity on them, and many ships arrived from the country of the Franks, who waged a severe war against the king of Calicut. They threw at him hard stones with ballistas, and killed many people from the camp of that wicked king; they made him run, and they drove him away and his armies from the shores of the sea. Then the Franks came to the town of Koshi, and they built in it a great fortress, in which were placed about three hundred warriors from them; some of them were stone throwers with machines, and some others archers. They put also in it about fifty large ballistas, and about a hundred others of a smaller size, and iron bows from which arrows are thrown.

"Then that king, their enemy, whose memory deserves to perish, came back against them, and engaged them in battle, but they defeated him by the power of Christ, and killed about three thousand men from his army by stones from ballistas. He fled again, and went back to his town of Calicut; but the Franks pursued him on the sea which is near his town, and overtook him; they seized his ships and broke them, and killed in them about one hundred Mohammedans who were piloting them; they also destroyed the town with stones thrown at it from their ballistas. The General of these Franks came then to another town called Cananore, situated in the country of Malabar, to another pagan king, and said to him: 'Give us a place in thy town, in which we can buy and sell when we come here year by year to do business.' He gave them a place and a large house, and was greatly pleased with them. The Christian General made him then gifts of cloth woven with gold, and garments of brocade, and

bought pepper to the extent of fourteen thousand *tagars*,[1] which he took with him to his country.

"There were about twenty men from them in the town of Cananore, when we arrived from the town of Ormuz to the Indian town of Cananore; we went to them and told them that we were Christians, and narrated to them our story. They were pleased with us, and gave us beautiful garments, with twenty drachmas of gold; for the sake of Christ they honoured in an extraordinary way our state of being strangers. We remained with them two and a half months, and they ordered us one day to say mass. They have prepared for themselves a beautiful place, like a chapel, and their priests say their mass in it every day, as is their custom. On the Sunday, therefore, of *Nusardail*,[2] after their priest had finished his mass, we also went and said mass, at which they were greatly pleased with us. After that we left them and went to our Christians, who were eight days distant from there.

"The number of all those Franks amounted to not more than about four hundred men, but their fear and dread is in the heart of all the pagans and Mohammedans found in these countries. The country of those Franks is called Portugal, which is one of the countries of the Franks, and their King is called Emmanuel. May Emmanuel protect him!

"Do not blame us, O brethren, for the length of this letter. We desired and wished to tell you all the above things. May our Lord be with us all and in us all! Amen!"

The bishops mentioned in the above document figure also in Syr. MS. No. 25, of Paris, which in folio 7 bears the following colophon:[3] "This book was written in the year 1815 of the Greeks (A.D. 1504), —and glory be to the Lord—, with the hands of the stranger Jacob. Let it be known to thee, my lord the reader, that in the above-mentioned year, we arrived in these Indian countries at the town called Cananore, in which we found our true brethren, the Franks, called Portuguese, who were greatly pleased with us. Let it be known also that in the year 1813 (A.D. 1502), at the beginning of

[1] An ancient weight measure equivalent to about two hundred kilograms.

[2] In the East Syrian (Nestorian) Calendar, the sixth Sunday after Trinity.

[3] *R.O.C.*, 1912, pp. 82-83.

the month of September, our common Father, Mar Simon, the Catholicos of the East, left this world of miseries.[1] The bishops assembled near our Father Mar John, the illustrious Metropolitan, and ordained Mar Elijah Catholicos and Patriarch to the throne of the East. And this Father Mar Elijah ordained the following bishops for India: Mar Yahb Alaha, and Mar Thomas as archbishops, and Mar Dinḥa and me, the humble Jacob, as bishops, in the holy monastery of Mar John the Egyptian, which is situated near Gazarta of Zabdai, in the district of Kaulaz, on the second day of Easter, in the year 1815 of the Greeks (A.D. 1504)."

(*h*).

We will here translate another document of a totally different type. Several differences distinguish it from its predecessors, of which we will here give only the following: while the accuracy of the preceding documents is above reproach, that of the present one is to be accepted only with great caution. Its first part is clearly legendary, and the author was probably a Jacobite Indian from Malabar, writing more precisely long after the Synod of Diamper, in the beginning of the eighteenth century. The second part of his account, however, is not to be entirely disregarded, as it preserves to us the local tradition of an indigenous Indian Church staggering under the blow of western impact, struck by a well-organised, powerful, and wealthy Roman Catholicism. We know of the existence of some other more modern lucubrations by native Indians, written in Syriac language, but the few chosen here are more original and more typical. Another point to which we wish to draw attention is the fact that the author is extremely hostile to the Franks (in the author's phraseology, the Roman Catholic missionaries), on whom the Nestorian authors of the two preceding documents bestow so much praise. The Nestorian writers saw only a few Franks for a short time, and because of the hospitality and gifts which they had received from them, they harboured no bitterness against them. The case is different with the Jacobite writer; his forefathers and himself had been in close contact with Roman Catholic missionaries for a great number of years, and their theological views, social life, and

[1] Simon V., therefore died in 1502, and not in 1503, as Abbeloos and Lamy in Brahebræus's *Chron. Eccl.*, ii., 568.

personal conduct, had evidently inspired him with disgust. The Nestorian writers were still under the spell of the glamour of the Christian West, but this glamour had vanished in the case of the Jacobite author, who is thus writing under the weight of great grievance and bitter disappointment :[1]

"In the fifty-second year of our Lord Jesus Christ, St. Thomas came to India and reached Mailapo.[2] He preached the good news there to many, and he evangelised and baptised them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Then he left that place and came to Malabar, and reached Malykara, where he preached the Gospel to the inhabitants of the country, built an altar to the Lord, and ordained two priests. He then left the country and went to Kutkayel and built a church in it ; he did the same thing in Irapeli, Gukamaglam, Niranam, and Tirubokut. After that he went back to Mailapo, where he was speared to death by pagans, and his soul rested in peace.

"After the death of the Apostle Thomas, India and also Malabar were without a preacher and a leader, apart from the priests ordained by St. Thomas. After ninety-two years, India and Malabar became without priests, having only believing men and women. In that time a pagan magician appeared, whose name was Manikbashr ; he went to Mailapo and wrought many wonders by his magic, and proved a stumbling-block to the heads of the faithful, and turned them away from the true faith. There was no one left to contradict him and thwart his orders, so the remainder of the faithful came and took refuge in Malabar. When the believing brethren of Malabar saw them, they were greatly pleased with them, and lived together the life of Christians. After that, when the one hundred and sixty Christian families of Malabar were on several occasions without priests and leaders, divisions sprang up among them on several occasions for various reasons. Some of them left the orthodox faith, and some did not. Those who left it were ninety-six families, and those who did not numbered sixty-four families.

"At that time the Metropolitan of Edessa saw a vision in the night, and rose the next morning and went to the Catholicos of the East to whom he narrated it. When the Catholicos heard it, he sent

[1] Land's *Anecdota Syriaca*, i., 24-30.

[2] We preserve the Syriac form of the Indian proper names.

messengers to all churches, monasteries, and towns under his jurisdiction, and summoned them to himself. When great multitudes assembled near him with their bishops and their merchants, he narrated to them the vision and the words of the bishop. One of the faithful, the merchant Thomas of Jerusalem,[1] rose up and said: 'We have heard the story of Malabar and India from strangers, men of different countries.' When the Patriarch heard his words, he rose from his seat, drew near to him, embraced him, and said to him: 'I implore thee, my beloved son, to repair to Malabar, visit its inhabitants, and report to me concerning what happened to them.' Thomas of Jerusalem left then and went to Malabar, and reached Maliomkara, where he saw the Christians of St. Thomas. They comforted one another, and they related to him what had happened to them.

"When Thomas heard their story, he fortified them, and comforted them with sweet words. Then he immediately went on board a ship and returned to his country, where he saw the Catholicos and said to him: 'I saw with my own eyes the Christians of St. Thomas; we spoke together, and we comforted one another; I left them full of hope, and returned.' When the Catholicos heard his words he said: 'I wish to sacrifice even my life for them, and I ask thee to show me what could be done for these my children.' He then narrated to the

[1] If this Thomas is an historical personage, he is different from Thomas Cana, another problematical bishop of Malabar, in about A.D. 823 (see below, p. 497). The scene of this merchant Thomas is placed, according to the Malabar tradition, in 345. In this year the Catholicos of the East was Barba'-Shemin, the nephew of the great Simon bar Ṣabbā'e (Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum*, ii., 296-303; Assemani, *Acta Mart.*, i., 111-117; Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.*, ii., 14, etc), and was in prison from February, 345, to 9 January, 346, in which he suffered martyrdom. After him, the see was vacant for twenty years. Before him, the Catholicos was Shahdost, who was himself martyred in 342, and after him the see had become vacant for more than two years ('Amr, *De Pat.*, p. 12; Mari, *De Pat.*, pp. 16-18; Bedjan, *ibid.*, ii., 276-280, etc.). In their short term of office, during the persecution of Sapor, not one of the above Catholicoi whose time was mostly spent in prison could have possibly attended to the business of a merchant Thomas from Jerusalem. The whole story is absolutely unhistorical. I believe that this very late Malabar Syrian tradition might have made a stupid chronological mistake of about four centuries and a half; but then this unhistorical Thomas was a simple merchant, and not a bishop, while the possibly historical Thomas Cana was a bishop. No one can fathom the depth of stupidity to which a late and worthless tradition may lead a critic.

Catholicos the needs of the brethren of Malabar. It happened by the power of our adorable God, and by order of the Catholicos, that after a very short time the merchant Thomas of Jerusalem left his country accompanied by that very bishop who saw the vision, and by priests and deacons, by men, women, and children, from Jerusalem, Bagdad, and Nineveh (Mosul). They went on board a ship and came to Malabar, and reached Maliomkara in the year three hundred and forty-fifth of our Lord.

"When the inhabitants of Malabar recognised them, they assembled near them, and took advice from one another. They then went to Sharkun, the king of all Malabar, and brought him gifts and presents. The king was pleased with them and said to them: 'I will gratify all your wishes,' and he gave them land as long and as broad as they desired. And he invested them also with royal honours inscribed on pieces of copper, which are preserved with us down to the present day.[1] When they received all these from the king, they returned to Maliomkara. Then they busied themselves with the building of the church and the town. They erected a church in the land of Kuramaklur, which was given to them by the king, and they built also a town there composed of four hundred and seventy-two families, stretching from east to west, and dwelt in it as by right.

"In those days and in the days that followed, Syrian Fathers used to come to that town by order of the Catholicos of the East, and govern the diocese of India and Malabar, because it was from it that the Syrians used to go to other parts until they were dispersed. Then in the year 823, the Syrian Fathers, Mar Sapor and Mar Parūṭ (Piruz), with the illustrious Sabrisho'[2] came to India and reached Kullam. They went to the king Shakirbirti,[3] and asked from him a piece of land in which they could build a church for themselves and erect a town. He gave them the amount of land they desired, and they built a church and erected a town in the district of Kullam, to which Syrian bishops and Metropolitans used to come by order of the Catholicos who sent them.

"A long time after, or about the year 1500, the deceitful Franks came to this country of Malabar, and they also dwelt in Malabar and

[1] See below, p. 507.
[2] About these three bishops, see below, pp. 498 and 508.
[3] About this king Chakravarti, see below, p. 507.

India. At that time also the Syrian Fathers, Mar Dinḥa, Mar Thomas, Mar Jacob, and Mar Yahb-Alaha,[1] came and visited the diocese of Malabar and India according to the old custom. Then after those days, in the year 1580, came the Syrian bishop Mar Abraham,[2] and when he reached Malabar the murderous Franks envied him and laid snares for him in order to murder him; but he escaped them then, by the help of Christ our Lord, but in discharging the duties of his office he was in constant dread and fear of them. In those days the Franks, the enemies of the Most High, began to lay snares in the roads in which the Syrians were travelling, in order to capture them and murder them. After the death of the Syrian bishop, Mar Abraham, no Syrian bishop came to Malabar for fifty-two years.

"In those days a Frankish bishop[3] came by order of the Pope of Rome, and desired to reduce the Syrians and bring them under his authority, but they refused. Then this tyrant bishop went to the king of Ḳokshin, and he gave him thirty thousand pieces of gold as a bribe. The king then began to molest the Syrians with all kinds of persecution, and the Syrians suffered from this persecuting king for three years, and having been much weakened by him, they submitted by force to the Frankish bishop. The Franks then changed the good habits of the Syrians, and prohibited the marriage of priests and deacons, and taught a novel and abominable doctrine.

"When the Syrians were for fifty-two years in this state God wished to bring to light the deceitfulness of the insincere Franks, by means of the Patriarch Ignatius, who desired to come to Mailapo and thence proceed to Malabar. When this prelate came to Mailapo, the Franks captured him, incarcerated him, brought him to Ḳokshin, and drowned him in the sea. This became known in all Malabar and to the Syrian deacons who were in it at that time. All the

[1] On these bishops see below and cf. Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, iv., 162-163; Lequien, *Oriens Christ.*, ii., 1277-1278; Raulin, *Histo. Eccl. Malab.*, pp. 436-437.

[2] This is the famous Abraham, Archbishop of Angamale; see Giamil's *Genuinæ Relationes*, pp. 1-8, 69-73, etc.

[3] This hated bishop appears to have been Alexius Meneses, surnamed Goanus, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Goa, who in 1599 assembled the Synod of Diamper. Milne Rae's *Syrian Church*, p. 20, et passim, etc.

Syrians, therefore, congregated in the Church of Mutumsheri, which was near Ḳokshin, and swore in the name of the Creator before the holy altar that they would never join with the Franks till the end of time, nor let their seed join with theirs; and they wrote their oath on paper. Amen! The Syrians were thus separated from the Franks, and for a short while they were successful.

"Then the bishop of the Franks began to send precious gifts to the Syrian priests, and to correspond with them in secret. Some of these priests secretly accepted these gifts, and visited the bishop of the Franks by night, but some others did not accept the gifts nor did they go to him by night. After a short time, some priests fell and followed the bishop, and some did not, and this produced divisions among the Syrians who separated into two hostile camps. After half of the Syrians had followed the Franks, and after the latter had bribed the kings and the rulers in order to molest the Syrians, the Franks prevailed upon the Syrians. At that time, however, came to India the believing Amiral, the just judge, and the ruler of all India and Malabar, and destroyed all the Franks in Ḳokshin and in all the towns of the land of India,[1] as Joshua, son of Nūn, had previously destroyed the Canaanites and other peoples.

"From that day down to our time joy is felt in the camp of the Syrians, and sorrow in that of the Franks. The Syrians are in union with the Syrian Fathers who come from Jerusalem, Nineveh (Mosul), Bagdad, and other places, by order of the Catholicos of the East, and the Franks are under the jurisdiction of the Frankish bishops who come from Rome and from other countries, by order of the Pope of Rome.

"Then in the year 1705, the Syrian Archbishop, Mar Gabriel,[2] came to India by order of the Catholicos of the East. He noticed the

[1] The author probably alludes here to the successes of the Dutch over the Portuguese. In 1660 the Dutch took Negapatam; and they succeeded in taking Quilon towards the end of 1661. In 1662 they captured by assault the town of Cranganore, after which they began to lay siege to Cochin, which submitted to them in January, 1663. Milne Rae's *The Syrian Church in India*, p. 258, and other writers.

[2] This is evidently the Nestorian bishop Gabriel described by Paoli as an *Implacabilis hostis Jacobitarum*. In spite of hostile machinations he maintained his position for twenty-six years, or till his death in 1731. Milne Rae, *ibid.*, p. 271; Assemani, *ibid.*, iv., 447; Lequien, *Oriens Christ.*, ii., 1283-1284.

two hostile camps among the Syrians, and was struck by the great number of them who had followed the Franks, and contracted their abominable habits, without reflecting on their origin, and by the fact that the Syrian priests who had thus followed the Franks did not marry like their fathers, but blamed the married life of their Syrian brethren. Because of these things, this Syrian Metropolitan Gabriel did not follow the Syrians his kinsmen, nor did he follow those Syrians who had followed the Franks, but he followed a middle course in order to attract those Syrians who had followed the Franks. Many people from both camps followed him; indeed forty-two churches from the camp that had followed the Franks attached themselves to him; but now, through the zeal and deceitfulness of the Carmelites and Sampalos (= Jesuits? Franciscans?) twenty churches from them detached themselves from him.

"Let it be known also to you, O blessed and illustrious gentlemen, that if the appointed Governor and the blessed king of all India and Malabar were in these days to help this poor Syrian Archbishop, and if there were not two camps in the Syrian Church, the deceitful Franks would never dominate in India, till the end of the world.

"In the handwriting of the Syrian priest Matthew, the wretched, the poor, and the miserable. Amen."

(*i*).

We are in a position to supplement the above account by an unpublished Syriac document of a more circumstantial character. We have at hand a letter sent in 1721 by Thomas, the Jacobite bishop of Malabar, to the Dutch scholar, Carolus Schaaf, of Leiden (the author of the *Lexicon Syriacum* of 1717 [second edition]), who had asked him to write a short sketch containing the Indian tradition about the Apostle Thomas in particular, and the history of Christianity in India in general. The document that we possess is in the handwriting of Land, the well-known editor of the *Anecdota Syriaca*, and dated Amsterdam, 8 July, 1871; it was copied by him from "*MS. Bibl. Publ. Amstelod., I.F.*," and is as follows:

"O great and learned teacher Carolus, you asked me concerning the one who preached to us the holy Gospel, and I answer thus: There was a king called Pirmal Shōyin who ruled over India. He had but one desire, and that was to build a very beautiful palace.

After many enquiries he learned that if he could call in the builders who built to Solomon, his desire would be fulfilled. He summoned, therefore, his majordomo who was called Ḥabban, and ordered him to proceed to Jerusalem and bring to him the builders who worked for Solomon. After Shoyinpirmal despatched the majordomo, our Lord appeared to the latter while he was walking in the road, in the form of an artisan, and said to him: 'Where art thou going to, and from where art thou coming?' And he answered him: 'The king of India ordered me to go and bring the artisans who built for Solomon.' Our Lord then said to him: 'I am the head of all the builders.' While He was still speaking, an angel lifted Thomas from Edessa, and made him stand behind our Lord, who made a sign to him and said to Ḥabban: 'This will erect all your buildings,' and He sold him and delivered him to Ḥabban.

"This is the occasion of the arrival of Thomas in India, to our countries. The king and many inhabitants of India believed in Christ at the hand of the Apostle Thomas, and received baptism and priesthood. After having established seven churches, he went to Mailapo, where he was speared to death, and his body was carried by an angel to Edessa. The names of the seven churches built by St. Thomas are first Mailapore, and then Corignalore, Parāḳar, Irapelli, Koḳammaglam, Niranam, and Tirobancore. This happened in A.D. 52. From this date the faithful diminished little by little in our country. At that time, St. Thomas appeared in a vision to the Metropolitan of the town of Edessa, and said to him: 'Wilt thou not help India?' and he also appeared to Abgar, King of Edessa, who was the king of the Syrians; and then by order of the king and the bishop three hundred and thirty-six families composed of children and grown-up people, clerics, men, and women, came to India under the leadership of Thomas the Canaanite, from Canaan, which is Jerusalem. All these sailed in the sea and entered Coringalore, our country. They inhabited it by special permission from the king Shiramon-Pirumal, who was ruling India at that time. All this took place in A.D. 345.

"From that time the Church of our country spread in all directions, to the number of seventy-two churches; and in our days there are over one hundred churches: all the churches from Sherokhai Shorkon to Shora Kullam, the church of Mailapo and Tirobancore. This is the origin of us Syrians. The Franks have by their craftiness and

temporal power captured half of all the churches. About half of the diocese of Cochi belongs to the Franks, but our Church in Malabar is not counted in that diocese. Amen. What I have said above, I have said it in very short terms, and it is not found in the Syriac language but only in our native Indian language. . . . O Mar Carolus . . . may the Lord God bless thee! . . . Amen."

The historical value of the first part of the document, which includes the history of early Christianity in India, exclusively from the local Indian tradition, is of course very small. See also below, p. 509.

(*f*).

For the history of the more modern Church of India we have the account of another Jacobite, the priest Abraham of Travancore, who in A.D. 1821 wrote the following lines at the request of W. H. Mill. We will translate them below as usual without any comment, but we will warn the reader that, as in the two previous documents, the account that they contain concerning early Christianity in India is to be accepted with great caution:[1]

"In the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, one true God. Amen.

"In the year 52 of our Lord, the Apostle Thomas came to India and baptised many people. He built five churches, over which he set two men, and he went to Mailapore, where he evangelised, died, and was buried.

"In the year 345, a Christian merchant named Thomas came to India by order of our Father the Patriarch Mar Ignatius.[2] With him came also bishops, priests, deacons, and Christian laymen, who inhabited this land, and preached to us the way of truth. They selected men from those who had previously received ordination from the Apostle Thomas, placed them at the head of the dioceses of India, and ordained them archdeacons.

"In the year 825 of our Lord, a merchant called Job came and dwelt in this land, with two Syrian bishops. We were orthodox

[1] From Oxford Syr. MS. 72; in Payne Smith's catalogue, col. 264, there is a very good summary of the narrative. See also *R.O.C.*, 1912, 74-82.

[2] The introduction into the scene of a West Syrian instead of an East Syrian Patriarch is in keeping with the mentality of the Jacobite writer.

Jacobites in our habits from the beginning of the preaching of the Apostle Thomas down to the year 1545. After that came a bishop named Abraham, by order of Mar Elijah, and brought many books with him. We received ordination from him, because we were deprived of bishops.

"In that time the king of the Portuguese had under his command the fortress of Cochin, where he conducted Mar Abraham by force; after that he brought him to Rome and made him submit to the Pope, who gave him power over all the dioceses of India. He came back here and he preached to us the habits of the Franks. After the death of Mar Abraham, Purgis, the Governor of Cochin, gave much money to the king of Cochin, who then greatly molested the archdeacon and the faithful of the Syrian community. In the year of our Lord 1598, we forsook the habits of the Syrians, and followed those of the Franks, and in that time the priests refrained from lawful marriage.

"In the year 1653 our Father Ignatius, Patriarch of Antioch, came to Mailapore. Two deacons went from Malabar to the church of Mailapore, in order to worship before the grave of St. Thomas the Apostle. When our Father Mar Ignatius saw the deacons, and recognised them, he wept, and they also wept with him. This scene having been noticed by the Franks, they set up watchmen over them, in order to impede the deacons from seeing and speaking to our Father Mar Ignatius; there was no bishop from our own race, and they were the masters of the dioceses of India. Once, however, our Father Mar Ignatius made a secret sign to the deacons, and granted them a letter of recommendation to elect bishop the Archdeacon Thomas, and gave them leave to depart. When the deacons reached Malabar, they delivered the Patriarchal letter to the Archdeacon Thomas, who despatched letters to this effect to the churches. When all the priests, deacons, and Christian laymen of Malabar came to him, and heard that our Father, Mar Ignatius, had arrived at the fortress of Cochin, they repaired there without delay and implored the pagan king of Cochin to summon their Father Mar Ignatius, and deliver him to them. The king answered them: 'To-morrow I will summon him and deliver him to you.' This, however, became known to the Franks who gave much money to the king of Cochin, and he permitted them to do as they wished.

"In that very night the Franks tied a large stone round the neck

of the blessed Patriarch, and threw him into the depth of the sea. The moment the blessed Patriarch died, the pagan king also died. After these events all the Syrian parties assembled in the church of Maṭansheri, and each one of them swore in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, that they will have no more love for, nor union and communion with, the Franks, and they established Archdeacon Thomas the head of all the churches of the Syrians, in accordance with the order of our Father the Patriarch Ignatius. After this, in the year 1660, Bishop Joseph came to Malabar, but we did not follow him. A short time after this bishop Joseph called a priest named Alexander, from the family of bishop Thomas, and by fraud and deceit he persuaded him to receive episcopal ordination; this divided the Syrians of Malabar into two camps.

"In the year one thousand[1] . . . our Father Mar Gregory came to us, and in the year 1685 we were visited also by our Fathers Mar Basil the Maphryān and bishop Mar John, who turned us away from the habits of the Franks, and made us contract the habits of our fathers, which we have faithfully kept down to our own days without addition or diminution. In the year 1708 of our Lord bishop Mar Gabriel came to us by order of Mar Elijah the Catholicos, and preached to us the doctrine of two natures and two persons in Christ, and because of this a great schism occurred in our midst. A few people from our camp and the camp of the Franks followed him. He offered the sacrifice of the Mass with leavened and unleavened bread, and instituted fasting according to the habit of the Syrians. After his death, however, and the death of those who had followed him, everybody reverted to the ancient habits.

"On Tuesday, 23rd April, 1751, the Maphryān Basil, the Metropolitan Gregory, and the Chorepiscopus George came to us; and Mar Basil ordained John the great (or the elder) bishop. May their prayer be a rampart to us! In the year 1595 a Synod was held in the church of Autin Firur;[2] its heads were: bishop Alesos (Alexis), priest Franciscus, called the expert, priest Androscon, priest Jacob of the church of Pallurṭi in Malabar, and Archdeacon George, the Governor of the holy churches of Malabar.

[1] The rest of the date is represented in the MS. by a blank.

[2] The author evidently alludes here to the Synod of Diamper of 1599.

"The names of the Frankish bishops who presided over the church of Barpūsha are: the first Mar Ansholus, the second Mar John, the third Mar Arispolis, the fourth Mar Ausol, and the fifth Mar Lubius.

"The names of the Frankish bishops who presided over the church of Putashra are: the first Mar John, the second Mar Anthony, the third Mar John, the fourth Mar Salvador, the fifth a Metropolitan from Malabar called Caryāti, the sixth the priest Thomas Gubernator, and the seventh Paul, a bishop from Malabar."

(*k*)

We have excluded from the scope of our enquiry the account of Eastern and Western authors and travellers of the lower Middle Ages, but we cannot refrain from referring to those of them who may help us to get a rough estimate of the number of Christians who inhabited India at that period.

A fifteenth century writer, Conti, speaks as follows (about 1440) of the Nestorians in India: "In Mailapore the body of St. Thomas lies honourably buried in a very large and beautiful church; it is worshiped by heretics, who are called Nestorians, and inhabit the city to the number of a thousand. These Nestorians are scattered over all India, in like manner as are the Jews among us."[1]

Conti further writes: "The inhabitants of Central India are only allowed to marry one wife; in the other parts of India polygamy prevails very generally, excepting among those Christians who have adopted the Nestorian heresy, who are spread over the whole of India."[2]

In A.D. 1325 there were only about fifteen Christian houses near the shrine of Thomas, and all of them belonging to the Nestorians, "those vile and pestilent heretics."[3]

Marco Polo[4] speaks of Christian communities in the Kingdom of Coilum and in the province of Malabar, but gives no numbers.

[1] R. H. Major, *India in the Fifteenth Century* (Hakluyt Society), 1857, ii., 7.

[2] *Ibid.*, ii., 23.

[3] Friar Odoric in *Cathay*, i., 141-142 (Yule-Cordier). The same Odoric makes mention of Christians in the towns of Flandrina and Cyngilin, i.e. the Syriac Shingala, or Chrongalore = Cranganore (*ibid.*, p. 133).

[4] Pp. 353 sqq. and 375 sqq. (edit. Yule-Cordier).

The author of the "Navigation of the Indian Joseph" came to Rome in the time of the Pope Alexander VI., and testified to him in the end of the fifteenth century that there were Nestorian Metropolitans in Cathay and India who had many suffragan bishops: *quibus subsunt multi episcopi*[1] (cf. Al. Assem., *Codex Liturgicus*, xiii., 229).

'Abdîsho' IV., the Patriarch of Babylon, when nominated Patriarch in Rome in 1562, enumerated to Pope Pius IV., *inter alia* the following bishoprics and archbishoprics of India:[2] "Cuscin (Cochin), archbishopric; Cananore, archbishopric; Goa, archbishopric; Calicut, bishopric, which has under its jurisdiction the town of Caronongol,—*cui subest Caronongol civitas.*"

Other authors besides Conti speak of Nestorians as found scattered all over India. For the Eastern parts we have Thomas a Jesu, who writes as follows: "In India etiam Orientali crebræ sunt Nestorianorum familiæ huic Patriarchæ (i.e. the Nestorian Patriarch) subditæ, qui eis episcopos præficere solit."[3]

Osorius and Jarricus, quoted by Al. Assemani,[4] speak of numerous Nestorian communities on the River Ganges, and in Central and East India. Another ancient author, Morinus,[5] speaks of the Nestorian Patriarch as sending bishops and Archbishops to all parts of India, as the Pope of Rome does for the Catholic districts: "Episcopos et archiepiscopos . . . *in universam Indiam* mittit, non secus ac Pontifex Rom. in regiones Catholicas."

The Jesuit Ludovicus Gusmanus, quoted by Le Quien,[6] speaks of hundreds of thousands of Indian Christians: "multi in India Christiani sunt, quorum numerus ultra centum quinquaginta millia excurrit, per varia regna divisi . . . Habent ii suum archiepiscopum, episcopos et sacerdotes."

The Patriarch Bar Mama[7] makes also mention in 1552 of

[1] Giamil, *Genuinæ*, p. 615; *Novus Orbis*, 1555, p. 133; cf. Vincenzo Maria, *Il viaggio all Indie Orientali*, 1672, p. 140.

[2] Giamil, *Genuinæ Relationes*, p. 65.

[3] *De Conversione omnium gentium*, Antwerp, 1613, p. 258.

[4] *Codex Liturgicus*, Rome, 1766, vol. xiii., pp. 228-229.

[5] *Commentarius de Sacris Ordinationibus*, Antwerp, 1695, pp. 364-365.

[6] *Oriens Christianus*, Paris, 1740, ii., col. 1273.

[7] S. Giamil, *Genuinæ Relationes*, pp. 17, 24.

Christians all over India. Another Patriarch, Elijah, informs us in A.D. 1610[1] that there were forty thousand Christian families in the South-West Coast of India alone.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century John of Monte Corvino, speaking of the Christians in the maritime districts of India, says: "There are a very few Christians and Jews, and they are of little weight."[2] For the middle of the same century we have the more important testimony of Marignolli, who in his "Recollections of Eastern Travel"[3] speaks of Indian Christians as the masters of the steelyards and the proprietors of the spices of South India. Father Vincenzo Maria[4] speaks also of the Christians of India as having almost the monopoly of the pepper trade, and adds: "qui habent stateram ponderis totius mundi." Marignolli further asserts[5] that the king of India "gave St. Thomas a perpetual grant of the public steelyard for pepper and all aromatic spices, and no one dares take this privilege from the Christians but at the peril of death." One of the old grants claimed by the Indian Christians as the charter of their ancient privileges has the following passage:[6] "We have given as eternal possession to Iravi Corttan, the lord of the town, the brokerage and due customs of all that may be measured by the *para*, weighed by the balance, stretched by the line, of all that may be counted or carried . . . salt, sugar, musk, and lamp-oil, or whatever it be, namely within the river mouth of Codangulor (Cranganore)."

About A.D. 1443 the vizier of the king of Bidjanagar was a Christian, called Nimah Pazir.[7]

Towards the end of the sixteenth century Christianity had dwindled away to such an extent in many parts of North and Central India that it was the *Padris* (Roman Catholic missionaries) and not the Nestorians who in A.H. 986 brought to the notice of the great Emperor Akbar (A.D. 1556-1605) the Gospel, the Trinity, and the religion of Jesus.[8] The emperor became so interested that he ordered

[1] S. Giamil, *Genuinæ Relationes*, p. 108.
[2] *Cathay*, iii., 63. [3] *Ibid*, iii., 217. [4] *Op. cit.*
[5] *Ibid.*, iii., 252-254.
[6] *The Madras Journal*, 1844, p. 119. See below p. 507.
[7] *Journey of 'Abdar-Razzāk*, in Major's *India in the Fifteenth Century*, 1857, i., p. 41 (Hakluyt Society).
[8] *Tārīkh-i Badāūni*, ii., 260; Elliot, *History of India*, v., 528-529.

his son, Prince Murād, to learn some lessons from the Gospel, and directed Shaikh abu l'Faẓl to translate it.[1]

Ulughkhāni[2] and others speak of *Kanīsah* and *Kanā'is* of gold, in Rāchūrah and Sīrah, plundered in A.D. 1308 and 1310 by 'Alā'ad-Dīn, the tyrant Khilji Sultan of India (A.D. 1296-1316), and by his powerful lieutenant Kāfūr, but in non-Arab countries of the post-classical period of Arabic and Persian the word *Kanīsah*, except otherwise stated, commonly refers to a pagan temple and not to a Christian church or Jewish synagogue.

In 1439 the Pope Eugenius IV. wrote as follows to the head of a local dynasty of Malabar:[3] "There has often reached us a persistent rumour that Your Serenity and also all who are the subjects of your Kingdom are true Christians." At the close of the fifteenth century a Genoese merchant, Hieronimo di Santo Stefano paid a visit to Calicut about which he said:[4] "In this town there are several thousand houses inhabited by Christians, and the district is called Upper India" (*sic*).

We will close our quotations with the words of Petrus Strozza who might have got his information from the delegates whom the Nestorian Patriarch had sent to Pope Paul V., whose secretary he was:[5] "Patriarchæ Nestorianorum amplissima est authoritas, eaque in Indiam sese extendit. Nam Chaldæi, qui Goæ, Cochini, Angamalæ, atque in insula S. Thomæ ante adventum Patrum Societatis Jesu reperiebantur, omnes pariter professione Nestoriani, obediebant Patriarchæ Babylonis."

II. *Synods and Bishoprics.*

In our work *The Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia* (p. 27) we quoted the Synodical Canons of 'Abdīsho (cap. xix.)

[1] The Roman Catholic missionary who took an important part in the discussion was a Jesuit called Rodolpho Aquaviva from Goa. See Blochmann's *Ā'ini Akbari*, i., 167; Murray's *Discoveries and Travels in Asia*, vol. ii.; Smith's *The Oxford History of India*, 1919, pp. 361-362, 377-378.

[2] *Zafar al Wālih*, i., 155-156, etc. (edit. Ross).

[3] Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, p. 60; *Travancore Manual*, 1906, ii., 147; *Indian Antiquary*, 1923, 158.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Al. Assemani, *Codex Liturgicus*, xiii., 229, quoting also Bzovius for the year 1330.

according to which the Metropolitans of India, China, and Samarkand, and other remote lands were, owing to long distances, exempted from attending the General Synods of the East Syrian Church. There is nothing unusual, therefore, in the fact that the name of no Indian bishop figures among the signatories of the Synods of the Nestorian Church. The only sources of information left to us are, therefore, the canonists of the Church, and the scanty references found in the correspondence of the Patriarchs and the general historians. It will be useful to repeat here the statement ventured at the beginning of this study that all references to Indian bishops in history are always made in connection with the East Syrian or Nestorian Church : another link in the chain of the argument that India has never had an independent Church of its own, or an indigenous hierarchy under its own ecclesiastical chief, independently of the vigorous Christianity that had previously developed in the valley of the Tigris and in the Sasanian Persia.

We will divide this section into two distinct parts. In the first we will give the names of the Christian bishoprics that surrounded India in the North, West, and North-West. As we have already ventured to remark, we believe it to be somewhat improbable that an India hemmed in by land and sea by Christian bishoprics established since about A.D. 225, in Baith Ḳaṭrāye, Fars, Mesene, Baḥrain islands, Baluchistan, and Oman, could have resisted for long the impact of East Syrian and Persian missionaries. For reasons given above, we are in dire need of historical data concerning Christianity in India, but the antiquity and the high number of many ecclesiastical sees which surrounded the country, are a welcome, though a meagre, addition to our store of knowledge.

A.

Bishoprics[1] in the Proximity of India.

Ardai. One of the group of islands in the Persian Gulf, which have not yet been identified with safety. See Sachau's *Chronik von Arbela*, p. 26. One of its bishops, Paul, attends the Synod of Isaac in 410[2] (pp. 273 and 618).

[1] In alphabetical order.

[2] The references, unless otherwise stated, are to the *Synodicon Orientale*, 1902 (edit. Chabot).

Ardashir-Kurra, the more modern town of Firūzābād, south-east of Kāzirūn, in the province of Fars. For more details, see Le Strange's *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 256-257. Mentioned in the Synods of the years 424 and 540.

Ardashir Pharihd, in Baluchistan of our days. Mentioned in the Synod of Yahb Alaha of 420 (p. 276).

Baith Hūzāye, in Persian and Arabic : Khuzistan, north of the Persian Gulf. The metropolis of this very ancient East Syrian ecclesiastical province was Baith Lāpāṭ. It was already the seat of a bishop in A.D. 225.[1]

Baith Ḳaṭrāye, the country of the Ḳaṭars, the Arabian region on the west coast of the Persian Gulf, facing the islands of Baḥrain. It was a bishopric in A.D. 225.[2] Its bishops are mentioned in the Synods of Isaac in 410 (p. 273). One of its bishops, Thomas, attends also the Synod of the Patriarch George in 676 (p. 482). The diocese represented a good belt of all north-east Arabia. The Patriarch Isho'-Yahb III. (650-660) has five long letters addressed to the bishops and the monks of Baith Ḳaṭrāye on the occasion of a schism.[3] The bishops of the country were under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Riwardashir.[4]

Baith Lāpāṭ. One of the most important sees of the Nestorian Church, after that of the Patriarch. It was the metropolis of Baith Hūzāye, called afterwards Gundi-Shapur. It was a bishopric in A.D. 225.[5] Eleven of its Metropolitans are mentioned in *Syn. Orient.* for the general Synods which assembled in the years 410, 420, 424 486, 497, 544, 554, 576, 585, 754, 790. Its first bishops mentioned by name in history go back to 341, i.e. to the persecution of Sapor ; they were called Gadyahb and Sabina.[6]

Bih-Shapur, an episcopal town in the province of Fars. One of its bishops, Abraham, attends the Synod of Aba I. in 544 (p. 332). From it sprang the monk Bar Sahde, who built a monastery near

[1] Mshiha Zkha, in my *Sources Syriaques*, i., 106.
[2] Mshiha Zkha, *Ibid.*, p. 106.
[3] *Liber Epistularum*, in *C.S.C.O.*, pp. 260-283 (of the text).
[4] Thomas of Marga, *Governors*, ii., 188, etc.
[5] Mshiha-Zkha, *ibid.*, p. 106.
[6] Evod. Assemani, *Acta Sanctorum Mart.*, i., 80; Bedjan's *Acta Martyrum*, ii., 131.

Ḥarbe, on the Lower Tigris. Isho'denah's *Book of Chastity*, p. 443 (edit. Bedjan).

Darabgird, the well-known town and district of Fars. One of its bishops, Yazd-bozid attends the Synod of Dadisho' in 424, and another one, called Malka, that of Joseph in 554 (pp. 287 and 352).

Darai, possibly the same as the following island of Dairin in the Persian Gulf. One of its bishops, Jacob, attends the Synod of Isho'-Yahb in 585 (pp. 424, 455). See the above *Ardai*, and Sachau's *Chronik von Arbela*, p. 24.

Dairin. One of the islands of Baḥrain, the Dārūn of Yāḳūt (*Buldān*, ii., 537). One of its bishops, Isho'-Yahb, attends the Synod of George in 676 (p. 482). Mentioned by Isho'-Yahb III. in his Epistles (*C.S.C.O.*, p. 267), and mentioned also by Thomas of Marga (*Governors*, ii., 188), as under the jurisdiction of Riwardashir. Cf. Nöldeke's *Geschichte der Perser*, p. 57.

Fars. The province east of the Persian Gulf. Its metropolis was Riwardashir (q.v.). The word *Pares* is used in Syriac, both in the sense of Persia in general, and in that of the province of Fars in particular.

Hagar, in the interior of Baḥrain ; cf. Yāḳūt (*Buldān*, iv., 953-954). It was the residence of the Governor of the island. Mentioned by Isho'-Yahb III., in his Epistles (*C.S.C.O.*, p. 267). One of its bishops, Isaac, attends the Synod of Ezechiel in 576, and another, Pusai, is present in the Synod of George in 676 (pp. 387 and 482).

Ḥaṭṭa (Arab. Al-Khaṭṭ), on the coast of the Persian Gulf, in the region known to-day as Aḥsa, not far from Ḳaṭīf. Mentioned by the Patriarch Isho'-Yahb III., in his Epistles (*C.S.C.O.*, p. 267). One of its bishops, Isaac, attends the Synod of Ezechiel in 576, and another, Shāhīn, is present in the Synod of George in 676 (p. 482).

Hormizd-Ardashir, called afterwards by abbreviation *Hormshir*, the town of Ahwāz, or Sūḳ al-Ahwāz, on the Ḳārūn. It was a bishopric in 225.[1] Its first bishop mentioned by name in history is John, martyred in 341.[2] Nine of its bishops are mentioned in the nine Nestorian Synods held between 410 and 605. It is mentioned eighteen times in the Nestorian Synods.

[1] Mshiḥa-Zkha, in my *Sources Syriaques*, i., p. 106.

[2] E. Assemani, *Act. San. Mart.* (*ibid.*) ; Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum*, ii., 131.

Islands (in Syriac *Gazrātha*). The word designates in the Synods of the East Syrian Church all the islands situated in the Persian Gulf; they contained the following bishoprics: Ardai, Darai, Dairin, Mashmahīj, Rūḥa, Tālwān, Todūru (q.v.) (pp. 273 and 276); the word includes also the island of Socotra.

Islands of the Sea, or *Maritime Islands*. The words designate all the Islands in the Arabian Sea (pp. 619, 620).

Iṣṭahr, in the province of Fars, not far from the ancient Persepolis. One of its bishops, Zādoi, is mentioned in the Synod of Dadisho' in 424 (pp. 276, 285). Mentioned also by the Canonist Elijah (Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, ii., 459). Near it was the monastery of the monk George (Isho' denaḥ, *Book of Chastity*, p. 496 edit. Bedjan).

Karka de Laidan, in Khuzistan, north of Susa, near the ruins of Iwān-i-Kark of our days. Eight of its bishops sign the decrees of eight Eastern Synods from 420 to 605.

Karka de Maishan, town between the Tigris and the Ḳārūn, towards the present town of Baṣrah. Seven of its bishops attend the seven Synods of the East Syrian Church held between 410 and 605. It was the ancient capital of the province of Mesene.

Kirman, the capital of the well-known province of South-West Persia. Its bishopric is attested by the Canonist Elijah (Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, ii., 459).

Kīsh, the island of Kīs, in the Persian Gulf, towards Ḳaṭar. Its bishop, David, was a contemporary of the Patriarch Aba I. in 552.

Mashkna de Ḳurdo, a bishopric in Fars. Ardaḳ, its bishop, attends in 424 the Synod of Dadisho' (p. 285).

Mashmahīg, in Arabic Samāhīj, a town in the island of Muḥarraḳ. Two of its bishops, Baṭṭai and Elijah, are mentioned in the Synod of Isaac in 410 (pp. 274-275). Mentioned by Isho'-Yahb III., in his Epistles (in *C.S.C.O.*, p. 267).

Mazon, the Persian name of the district of 'Umān (Oman), on the southern parts of the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf. One of its bishops, Yoḥannan, attends the Synod of Dadisho' in 424; another bishop, David, is present at the Synod of Aba I. in 544, while another bishop, Samuel, signs the decrees of the Synod of Ezechiel in 576; a fourth bishop, Stephen, is found in the Synod of George in 676.

Nahrgur, between Maishan and Ahwāz. Its Persian official name was Abz-Ḳubād. Seven of its bishops attend the seven Synods of the East Syrian Church held between 410 and 605.

Pherat, or *Pherat de Maishan*. Very near, and almost identical with, the modern town of Baṣrah, which it often represents. It was a bishopric in 225.[1] Thirteen of its bishops attend the thirteen Synods of the East Syrian Church held between 410 and 790. Its first bishop mentioned by name in history goes back to the persecution of Sapor; he was called Bolida'.[2]

Ram-Hormizd, a town in Khuzistan, called in our days Rumiz. Two of its bishops, Mihr-Shapur and 'Enanisho, attend the Synods of Ezechiel in 576, and of Isho'-Yahb in 585, respectively.

Rima, or (*Baith Rima*), an ancient town of the province of Maishan (Mesene). Sachau[3] has discussed the precise geographical position of the town, and inclines to a place between Karkha and Ḳārūn, near Suḳ al-Ahwāz, which is possible. Eight of its bishops are mentioned with eight Synods held in the years 410, 424, 486, 497, 544, 554, 585, 605. The town, however, is mentioned in history before 410 under the name of Rimiyun. The *Chronique de Seert*[4] asserts that the ascetic 'Abdisho converted many pagans in it about A.D. 360, and what is more important for our purpose, that from it he went south to Baḥrain, where he built a monastery.

Riwardashir (called afterwards Ri-Shahr). The metropolis of the province of Fars. It was situated north-west of the present town of Bushire on the river Tāb. We have seen that the Metropolitans of this city had much to do with the bishops of India proper, and probably all the bishops of India before about A.D. 330 were under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Riwardashir. In the time of the Patriarch George (661-680), Riwardashir ruled also over all Baith Ḳaṭrāye. See Thomas of Marga's *Book of Governors*, ii., 188. This was also the case during the Patriarchate of Isho'-Yahb III. (650-660); see his *Liber Epistularum*, in *C.S.C.O.*, pp. 247-283. Its Metropolitans are mentioned by the annalists 'Amr and Māri, down to the twelfth century; see for 'Amr, *De Pat. Nest.*, pp.

[1] Mshiḥa-Zkha, *ibid.*, p. 106.
[2] E. Assemani, *Acta San. Mart.*, i., 41; Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum*, ii., 311.
[3] *Ausbreitung*, p. 50.
[4] *Pat. Orient.*, v., 311.

43, 55, 61, and for Mari, *De Pat. Nest.*, pp. 87, 89, 93, 97, 101, 102, 133. The inhabitants of the town dealt much in pearls that came to them from the Persian Gulf. Isho'denah's *Book of Chastity*, p. 468 (edit. Bedjan).

Rūḥa, in the Persian Gulf; mentioned once in the Synods in A.D. 424.

Shūshtar, *Shūshtre*, or *Shushtrīn*, the well-known town of Khuzistan, on the Gargar or Dujayl. Thirteen of its bishops are mentioned in connection with the East Syrian Synods. Near it was found the famous monastery of the monk Shabor (Isho'denah's *Book of Chastity*, p. 476).

Socotra. The island is not mentioned by name in the *Synodicon*, but is included in the group called the "Islands," which had a bishop in 410 (p. 273). Its episcopal see is attested by Cosmas Indicopleustes. See pp. 439 and 461. In the life of Yahb Alaha III., the head of the famous Mongol Embassy to the West, 'Amr[1] mentions a bishop of the island called Cyriacus. Māri[2] speaks of a bishop sent to it by the Patriarch Sabrisho'-Zanbūr (1063-1072). The Canonist Elijah of Damascus[3] gives Socotra as a Metropolitan see. See Assem., iv., 602-603, and W. Germann, *Zeitsch. f. hist. Theol.*, 1874, p. 227.

Sūs, or *Shūsh*. The well known Susa. The first of its known bishops is Miles, who suffered martyrdom on the 3rd November, 341.[4]

Talwān, an island in the Persian Gulf, mentioned in the *Syn.* in 424.

Todūrū (vowels uncertain). Possibly to be read also *Torūdū*, or Tārūt, the island of the group of Baḥrain. Its bishop is referred to in the Synod of Isaac in 410.

Ubulla, a city on the Persian Gulf between the modern Baṣrah and Mohammerah. Sachau[5] has referred to all the passages of the Arab geographers who speak of it. Le Strange[6] locates it in the

[1] *De Pat. Nest. Commentaria*, p. 72. Cf. Assem., *B.O.*, ii., 456
[2] *De Pat. Nest.*, p. 110.
[3] Assem., *B.O.*, ii., 459.
[4] Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, ii., 260-281.
[5] *Ausbreitung*, p. 51.
[6] *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 44.

S.E. angle of the "great island" formed by the two great canals of Nahr Ma'kil and Nahr al-Ubullah, on the way from Baṣrah to the Gulf. 'Amr[1] mentions Timon, one of its Metropolitans at the time of the Patriarch Narsai (524-535).

B.

Bishoprics in India Proper.

The first bishop of India mentioned by name in history is Dūdi or David, who sailed from Baṣrah in about A.D. 295 (see above, p. 450). This bishop must presumably have had his seat somewhere near the Malabar Coast.

The second bishop of which history makes mention is John, who in the Council of Nicæa of 325 signs himself "bishop of the Great India and Persia."[2] If historical this John must have presumably been the bishop of a town in North India, close to the frontiers of Persia proper.

In the signatures to the decrees of the Council of Nicæa, as reproduced by Cyzicenus,[3] the same entry is found: "Joannes Persa, Ecclesiis in tota Persia et Magna India." In 1908[4] I treated as a fable the presence in the Council of Nicæa of this John the Persian, and for *Persia* I substituted *Perrhe*, on the Upper Euphrates. Against this view may be urged the fact that Eusebius of Cæsarea was present at the Council, and that in his *De Vita Constantini*,[5] he actually makes mention of a bishop of Persia as present in the Council: "Quidam etiam ex Perside episcopus Synodo interfuit." The presence, therefore, in the Council of Nicæa of a bishop John, from one of the numerous sees of Persia of the beginning of the fourth century, preferably Riwardashir, is not altogether impossible. Michael the Syrian expressly states in his history[6] that this John the Persian attended the Council of Nicæa. We must admit, however, that in a passage of Michael the Syrian quoted above, the expression "Great India" is used of Ethiopia and Arabia Felix

[1] *De Pat. Nest.*, p. 38.

[2] Labbe's *Sacrosancta Concilia*, ii., 235. See also *Patrum Nicænorum Nomina* (Bibl. Teubner).

[3] *Pat. Gr.*, lxxxv., 1342 sq. The author, however, is not very reliable.

[4] In my *Sources Syr.*, i., 125-126.

[5] *Pat. Gr.*, viii., 51.

[6] i., 250.

combined. Speaking of the Council of Nicæa, Barṣalībi, another well-known West Syrian writer says: "Among the Fathers of the Council Jacob of Nisibin and Ephrem his pupil, Ithalaha of Edessa, Māra of Macedonopolis, and John of Persia, were Syrians."[1]

The third bishop of which we have any traces is Joseph of Edessa, who in A.D. 345 was sent by the Catholicos of the East to the coast of Malabar.[2] The general information given by the document which we have translated above may not be accurate in every detail, but we have no serious reason as yet to deny absolutely the historicity of Joseph himself.

We have already endeavoured to show that the Christians of North-West India were in very early times under the jurisdiction of the Persian Metropolitans of Fars. This last Nestorian see is indeed very ancient. According to the Nestorian canonist Ibn aṭ-Ṭayib,[3] the see of Fars was raised to an Archbishopric by the Patriarch Isaac (A.D. 399-410), but a hint is given by another Nestorian canonist, 'Abdisho,[4] that this Archbishopric "was created and organised" by the Patriarch Yahb-Alaha (A.D. 415-420). Soon, however, the Christians of India proper increased in number to such an extent that a special Metropolitan see with some six to twelve suffragan bishops had to be created for them. This was done, according to Ibn aṭ-Ṭayib,[5] by the Patriarch Isho'-Yahb II., (A.D. 628-643); 'Abdisho[6] also appears in this respect to be in harmony with Ibn aṭ-Ṭayib. The former canonist further states that in rank the Metropolitan of India took precedence of that of China, and the Metropolitan of China of that of Samarkand.

The authority of the Patriarchs over the Metropolitan of India seems to have been challenged more than once by the more ancient see of Fars, as we have seen in the case of the Patriarchs Isho'-Yahb III., and Timothy I.;[7] the reason for this seems to be sought, in our opinion, in the natural and explicable reversion that the Archbishops

[1] The unpublished treatise to the deacon Rabban Isho'; in Syr. MS., Mingana, No. 12, in Rendel Harris Library, Birmingham, fol. 137b.

[2] S. Giamil, *Genuinæ Relationes*, pp. 578-579.

[3] We have given the whole of his text in our *Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia*, pp. 74-75.

[4] We gave also the whole of his text in our above study, pp. 75-76.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 74. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 76.

[7] See above, pp. 464, 467, and 493, and cf. Noldeke's *Geschichte der Perser*, p. 19.

of Fars had towards the new idea of detaching India from their jurisdiction, and handing it over to the direct jurisdiction of the Patriarch. As long as there was no special Metropolitan for India, all its bishops owed them obedience, but once it had a Metropolitan of its own, it had to be administered directly by him under the supervision of the Patriarch. As it was impossible for a Metropolitan to have jurisdiction over another Metropolitan, the Archbishops of Fars refused for a time to adhere to the Patriarchal decree, and it is entirely due to the zeal, prudence, and ability of two strong Patriarchs: Isho'-Yahb III., and Timothy I. that a greater schism did not occur in the Nestorian Church over the question of India and its Metropolitan.

In our study mentioned above, we have also referred to the statement of 'Amr[1] to the effect that in the fourteenth Christian century, the Metropolitan of India was the fifteenth in rank among all the Metropolitans of the Nestorian Church. It is deplorable, however, that neither Ibn aṭ-Ṭayib, nor 'Abdisho, nor 'Amr, mention the district or the town of India in which the Metropolitan had his seat in early times; neither have our early Syriac sources any indication of the precise seats of his suffragan bishops. They have in this respect rendered us a disservice, which we feel reluctant to forgive and forget. It is only from late Syriac and European sources that we even hear of Malabar as a flourishing centre of Christianity in South India. These late Syriac documents, which are beyond the scope of our enquiry, give Angamale and Shingala (Chrongalore) as the seats of the Nestorian Archbishop, but he is sometimes mentioned also in connection with other towns.

In a historical order the next bishop of India of whom we have any record is a certain Thomas Cana, who seems to have lived towards the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth centuries, say between A.D. 795-824. His seat seems to have been a town in the coast of Malabar. Assemani[2] has already refuted the fantastic sayings of some authors quoted by Raulin.[3] There is hardly any reasonable doubt that if this bishop Thomas has any historical personality at all, he is to be counted among the monks whom the Patriarch

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 29.
[2] *Bibl. Orient.*, iv., 442.
[3] *Historia Ecc. Malabaricæ*, p. 8.

Timothy I. selected, as the historian Thomas of Marga[1] informs us, ordained bishops and sent to all the countries of the East. Even Lequien[2] is forced to write, "Iste Mar Thomas juxta magnum Chronicum Belgicum de Babylonia in Indiam venerat, et ipsi ab Indiarum rege dono datam fuisse civitatem quæ Ulna vel Ultima dicitur." He is also mentioned in the Syriac document translated above, p. 481. See further note of p. 476.

Some twelve years after the time of this Thomas, history has preserved to us the names of two other bishops of Malabar: Mar Sabrisho' (hitherto erroneously read as Mar Sapor (see below, p. 508), and Mar Piruz. Gouvea, quoted by Raulin,[3] calls them *Xabro* and *Prodh* respectively. Assemani[4] believes that they were sent to India by the Nestorian Patriarchs in about A.D. 992. Lequien[5] tentatively fixes the year as 880: "Anno circiter 880 duo Episcopi Xabro vel Sabra seu Jesu-Sabran (read, however, Sabrisho'; see below, p. 508) et Proud (read, however, Piruz), Chaldaei paulo post fundatam urbem Coulan venerunt ex Babylonia, viri sanctitate insignes, quorum memoria solemnis fuit in Ecclesiastico Malabarensium officio. Hi multas Ecclesias extruxerunt, auctaque est eorum tempore Christiana religio in regno Diamper." We adhere (and we believe rightly) to the date fixed in the Indian tradition by the Malabar Syriac document that we translated above (p. 477), which mentions for the arrival in India of the two bishops the year 823. This date is also somewhat fixed by the charter spoken of below on p. 507.

The Syriac MS. of the Vatican (No. iv) was written in 1556 in India in a church built in honour of the two above bishops. See the colophon of this MS. below, p. 502.

For the years A.D. 1122-1129 Raulin[6] and Lequien[7] give the name of another bishop of Malabar, John; but we have no mention of him in any Syriac document. We have, however, much more trustworthy information about another bishop of India called also John, who in 1490 was ordained and sent to Malabar by the Nestorian Patriarch Simon III. See his history in the Syriac document which we have translated above (p. 468). Another Nestorian bishop

[1] *Liber Superiorum*, pp. 261-262 (edit. Bedjan).
[2] *Oriens Christianus*, ii., 1273 (note).
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 8.
[4] *Ibid.*, iv., 442.
[5] *Ibid.*, ii., 1274.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 435 (note a).
[7] *Ibid.*, ii., 1275-1277.

mentioned in this document is Yahb Alaha, who in 1503 was ordained by the Patriarch Elijah IV., the successor of the preceding Simon.

After this bishop begins modern history, with conditions more or less similar to those prevalent in contemporary times. Of the bishops living under these conditions, it is not our intention to speak.

III. Remaining Traces and Monuments.

A.

Liturgical Manuscripts.

Before the Synod of Diamper of 1599, there were many Syriac MSS. in India, which contained an extensive biblical, liturgical, and patristic literature. The Synod, however, declared that all books which were opposed in any way whatsoever to the doctrine of the Church of Rome were to be burnt without pity. The order was actually carried out at Angamale, Chinganore, and elsewhere. The Biblical MSS. and the office-books of the Hudhra and Gazza were affected only to the extent that they had to be purged of all Nestorian names and Nestorian Saints, and generally amended in accordance with the teaching of the Church of Rome.[1] Cambridge Oo. 1. 22, and other MSS. show signs of such erasures. Rome did at the end of the sixteenth century with the Syrian Church of India what she did in the second half of the nineteenth century with the Syrian Church of Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia. To the breviaries of the Nestorians and the Jacobites who, yielding to the promptings of the missionaries of the Church of Rome, accepted in the last few decades the infallibility and the absolute supremacy of the Pope, the decrees of the Synod of Diamper have been rigorously applied at the instance of the Congregation *De Propaganda Fide*. There is nothing East Syrian or Nestorian left for the historian and the impartial scholar in the *Breviarium Chaldaicum* printed at Leipzig in 1886-1887 (vols. i.-iii.), nor is there anything West Syrian or Jacobite in the *Breviarium*

[1] For illustrations of the alterations, see Geddes, *History of the Church in Malabar*, pp. 151, 189, 231 sqq., and 362; and S. A. Cook, *South Indian Syriac MSS.*, pp. xviii.-xxv. of the Cambridge catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts.

juxta ritum eccles. Antioch. Syrorum, printed at Mosul in 1886-1898 (vols. i.-vii.).

It would be useful here to give the titles of some East Syrian MSS. burnt by order of the Synod:[1] (1) The book of the infancy of our Saviour, or the History of our Lady (doubtless the Protevangelium); (2) The book of John barialdon (doubtless the life of the monk Busnāya by John bar Khaldun of the tenth century); (3) The book of the Fathers[2] (doubtless the one of which a fragment has survived in Cambridge Oo. 1. 29)[3]; (4) The book of the Pearl (of 'Abdisho'); (5) The book of Maclamatas (doubtless 'Abdisho''s "book of Paradise" called *Māḳāmāt*); (6) The life of Abbot Isaiah (doubtless Dadīsho' Ḳaṭraya's commentary on Abba Esha'ya, see above, p. 455); (7) The book of the Synods (doubtless the *Synodicon Orientale*); (8) The book of Timothy the Patriarch (doubtless the book of his letters); (9) The letter which came down from heaven; (10) The Uguard or "Rose" (doubtless the book of the hymnologist Warda); (11) The Camiz (doubtless the book of the hymnologist Khamis); (12) The book of the Commentary on the Gospels wherein it is stated that 1 John and James are not the work of the Apostles (possibly the book of the Commentaries of Theodore of Mopsuestia); (13) The book of Rabban Hormizd; (14) The book of Narsai; (15) The book of Saints containing the lives of over a hundred Nestorians—many of them current separately; (16) The book called Parsiman;[4] (17) The book of Lots.[4]

According to Dr. S. Cook,[5] other allusions to the literature of the Indian Christians are made by Ramusis in 1554; he further quotes the following statement of Paulinus à S. Bartholomæo:[6] "Circumfertur pariter in ecclesiis Malabarensibus Chaldaicus liber inscriptus *Nuhara* seu explicatio in iv., Evangelia auctore Jesu Dada (doubtless Isho'dad of Merv) episcopo Asoriensi Maronita (sic !) cod. MS. . . .; Sacra Scriptura manuscripta; et dictionarium Syro-Chaldaicum."

[1] Uhlius, *Thesauri Epistolici Lacroziani*, Leipzig, 1742, vols. i.-iii. (passim), and Cook (*ibid.*).

[2] Cf. W. Germann, *Die Kirche der Thomas Christen*, 1877, p. 353 (note).

[3] *Ita* Cook, see *Cambridge Catalogue of Syriac MSS.*, by Wright and Cook, p. 1099 sqq.

[4] These books are unknown to me.

[5] *Ita* Cook, see *Cambridge Catalogue of Syriac MSS.*, by Wright and Cook, p. xxii.

[6] *India Orientalis Christiana*, Rome, 1794, p. 255.

It is not surprising, therefore, that only few Syrian-Indian MSS. written before 1599 have come down to posterity. A relentless war waged on them in India since that date has made them very scarce, and by a curious irony of fate the Vatican library contains nearly all of them.[1] They are:

(*a*).

Cod. Syr. Vat., N. xxii. It contains a church Lectionary of the Pauline Epistles. The colophon, which informs us that it was written in A.D. 1301, is as follows:[2] (fol. 93b): "This holy book was written in the royal, renowned, and famous city of Shingala in Malabar, in the country of India, in the Church of the illustrious martyr Mar Cyriacus—May all the faithful be helped by his prayers! —Amen!—in the time of the great pilot and director of the holy Catholic Church of the East, and its shining light which illuminates it in all directions, the first of all spiritual shepherds, the chief of chiefs, the head of heads, and the Father of Fathers, our blessed and holy Father Mar Yahb Alaha V., the Turk, Catholicos Patriarch of the East—May God prolong his life and lengthen his days for the good government of His Church and the pride of its children! Amen!—

"And in the time of bishop Mar Jacob, Metropolitan and director of the holy see of the Apostle St. Thomas, that is to say, our director and the director of all the holy Church of Christian India. May God grant him strength and help that he may govern us with zeal and direct us according to the will of his Lord, and that he may teach us His commandments and make us walk in His ways, till the end of time, through the intercession of the holy Apostle St. Thomas and all his colleagues! Amen!

"This holy book with all its rights and requirements was finished on a Wednesday, in June, of the year 1612 of the Greeks (A.D. 1301), and Glory be to God. May His pity and grace be with us. Amen! Amen! It was written by the weak scholar and the sinner, Zechariah, son of Joseph, son of Zechariah, one of the pupils

[1] Assemani's *Bibliot. Apost. Vaticanæ cod. manusc. Catalogus* (1758-1759), where counted as Nos. ii.-iv., xvii., xlv., lxxxv., lxxxviii., cxxviii.

[2] We translate the colophons according to the text printed by S. Giamil in his *Genuinæ Relationes*, pp. 571-575, 584 and 586.

and relatives of our above Father and director, and by name a deacon, from the above-mentioned town Shingala."

(*b*).

From A.D. 1301 to A.D. 1510, an interval of 209 years, there is no Syrian Indian MS. in existence. Cod. Syr. Vat., xvii., contains a Syriac New Testament written (fol. 477) by Jacob, Metropolitan of India, in the town of Shingala (Chrongalore), in the Church of the Apostle Thomas, on a Thursday, the 6th of March, in the year 1821 of the Greeks (A.D. 1510).

(*c*).

Cod. Syr. Vat., N. iv., is dated A.D. 1556, and bears the following colophon (fol. 278): "By the help of our Lord we have finished this book of the Prophets; it was written on a Monday, the 18th of February, in the year 1556 of the birth of our Lord. I, priest Jacob, the disciple of Mar Jacob, and from the village of Phuraor, have written this book in the holy Church of Mar Shapur and Mar Yapot (Piruz ?). May the holy name of God be praised for ever. Amen!"

(*d*).

S. Giamil (*ibid.*, pp. 601-602) makes mention of two Syriac MSS. written in India in A.D. 1557 by the Metropolitan Joseph, whose chequered life he well discusses on pp. 31, note, 85-86, 94-95, 600-602. The two MSS. contain the *Synodical Canons* of 'Abdisho', and the prayers of the novices in their cells.

(*e*).

The next MS. in point of date is Cod. Syr. Vat., N. ii., which is dated A.D. 1558; its colophon is: "This holy book of the New Testament was finished in the Church of our Lady Mary, the mother of light and life, in the blessed town of Angamale, on a Monday, the 9th of the blessed month of May, in the year 1558 of the birth of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and in the year 1869 of the blessed Greeks, and in the year of Kollam: 733.[1]

(*f*).

Next comes Cod. Sy. Vat., N. iii., dated also A.D. 1558, the colophon of which runs thus (fol. 234b): "This book was finished

[1] The Indian era.

on a Wednesday, the 26th of the blessed month of January, in the year 1558 of the birth of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and in the year of Kollam: 733, in the blessed and renowned town of Angamale, in Malabar, in the country of India; in the holy Church built under the name of our blessed Lady Mary, the mother of light and life. May all the faithful be helped by her prayers! And may this happen also to me! Amen! Amen! May God be blessed for ever, and may His name be glorified till the end of the world! The book was written by a weak man and a sinner: George."

(*g*).

The MS. Cod. Syr. Vat., lxxxv., is dated A.D. 1562, and its colophon (fol. 104b) is as follows: "By the help of our Lord and God we have finished this breviary which is used for all the ferial days of the year, according to the right of the holy monastery of St. Gabriel and St. Abraham, near Mosul, a rite that has been sanctioned by our blessed Fathers, sons of spiritual theology. May perpetual praise be to God, and may His grace be upon us for ever and ever! Amen!

"This book of Kashkūl was finished on a Tuesday, the 15th of the blessed month of December, in the year 1562 of the birth of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. It was written in the blessed and royal town of Angamale, in the holy Church of our Lady, the blessed Mary, mother of light and life—may her prayer be a rampart to us!—with the hands of the wretched sinner, and weak . . . Simon, son of Simon, who is by name a priest . . . and a native of Angamale."

(*h*).

We have given above, p. 473, the translation of another Christian Indian MS. preserved in Paris, and dated A.D. 1504.

This exhausts the list of all the Indian MSS. written before the Synod of Diamper. We subjoin below a complete enumeration of all the other MSS. preserved in the public libraries of Europe, and written after the Synod of Diamper:

Bodleian.—The oldest MSS. are MS. Syr. e 5 and 6. The latter is dated A.D. 1734, and the former appears to be somewhat later. These were acquired after Dean Payne Smith wrote his

catalogue. Or. 628 and parts of Or. 623[1] belong to the eighteenth century, and the rest, i.e. Or. 624-626, 631, 655, 666 and 667 are later. In all, eleven MSS.

Paris.—For the Syr. MS. No. 25, see above, p. 473. In the catalogue of Zotenberg there are six MSS.: Nos. 24, 25, 92, 186, 187 and 280, the oldest of which is No. 187, dated A.D. 1689. In all seven MSS.

Leiden.—In the catalogue of De Goeje we find the following MSS.: 1204, 1212-1215, and 18 (cod. Heb. Scal. 18), from which Ludwig de Dieu printed the Syriac Apocalypse in 1627. In all six MSS.

British Museum.—Curiously enough the British Museum does not seem to possess any Indian Christian MS. At least there is none in the Catalogues of Rosen and Forshall, Wright, and Margoliouth. There is, however, some Indian connection in Add. 21, 454 (p. 1167 in Wright's Catalogue).

Cambridge.—A large number of Indian MSS. are preserved at Cambridge,[2] distinguished by the class mark Oo. 1. The earliest dated are Oo. 1. 7, and Oo. 1. 15, of A.D. 1682 and 1691 respectively. There are in all twenty-four MSS. (vol. ii., pp. 1037-1118 of the Catalogue).

There are in existence some contemporary tracts of a controversial character written by Jacobite Indians, but of them we have no intention to speak. Another Christian Indian literature which is outside the scope of our enquiry, is that which includes books in Malayalam language written in Syriac characters, a kind of a Malayalam Garshūni. Some such MSS. exist in Cambridge (the best specimen being Add. 285), in Paris (Nos. 186 sqq. in Zotenberg's Catalogue), in Leiden (cod. 1215, of which Land has a facsimile reproduction in his *Anecdota Syriaca*, i., tab. B. ii.), but as Burnell has pointed out[3] "a few tombstones and similar relics in Travancore show that the Syriac Malayalim alphabet is of recent construction, and that the Syrians originally used only the Vaṭṭeḷuttu character."

[1] In Payne Smith's Catalogue, Nos. 200 and 36.

[2] For the origin of the collection, see Dr. S. A. Cook's introduction to the catalogue of the MSS., pp. xiii.-xv.

[3] *Elements of S. Indian Palæography*, p. 58.

B.

Monuments and Inscriptions.

(*a*)

In our *The Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia*, pp. 39-42 of the separate reprint, we spoke of the gravestones found in the province of Semiryechensk, in Russian Turkestan. Among the stones discovered there with Syriac inscriptions are some belonging to Christians from India. It is natural to suppose that those Christians were from the north of India rather than the south.

(*b*)[1]

There are in South India four crosses which testify to the existence of a Christian community within its borders.

The first cross was discovered in 1547 on St. Thomas's Mount, near Madras. It has a Pahlawi inscription divided into two unequal parts by another small cross resembling the plus sign in algebra. It is generally ascribed to the seventh or the eighth centuries.

The same Pahlawi inscription with almost identical form of letters appears on the second cross, which is preserved at Kottayam, in North Travancore. Palæographically, therefore, this second cross is not much later than the first.

An interesting controversy arose as to the right reading and translation of the Pahlawi inscription. Pahlawi, especially that form of it which is mixed with Arameo-Syriac words, is difficult to read and translate. Burnell's transcription and translation have generally been believed in this country to contain a more natural meaning of the inscription, which is as follows:

(The first part): *Yin riyā mn vn drd-i dnmn.*

[1] My authorities for (*b*) and (*c*) of this section are: H. Gundert in *The Madras Journal*, vol. xiii., i., 115-164, and ii., 11-14; A. C. Burnell in *The Indian Antiquary*, 1874, 308-316; W. Logan's *The Manual of the Malabar district*, 1887, i., 208, and ii., Appendix xii.; Milne Rae's *The Syrian Church in India*, pp. 114-130, 154-168; the *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India*, especially *Southern Circle*, 1907-1921; T. K. Joseph in *Indian Antiquary*, 1923, pp. 355-357; K. N. Daniel, *ibid.*, 1924, 185-196, 219-229, 244-251, 257-261; T. K. Joseph in *Young Men of India*, May, 1926.

(The second part): *Mūn amn mshīḥa af alhā-i mdm af rshd-i* (or *rkhi*) *ai asar bokht.*

(1) "In punishment by the cross (was) the suffering of this (one)."

(2) "(He) who (is) the true Christ, and God above, and guide ever pure."

Haug's translation[1] suggests a slightly different reading for three words, and runs thus: "Who believes in the Messiah and God above and in the Holy Ghost is redeemed through the grace of Him who bore the cross."

The following translation (*ibid.*) given by West seems to us to be far-fetched: "What freed the true Messiah, the forgiving, the upraising, from hardship? The Crucifixion from the tree and the anguish of this."

A replica of the first cross was in 1921 discovered in North Travancore, at a place called Katamarram, by T. K. Joseph.

We have not seen the original crosses, and the reproductions we saw of them do not enable us to form an independent opinion of the above transcription and translation, but whatever translation is ultimately admitted as final—and we do not believe any of them is final—could not the expression "God above" be considered as a rendering of the Syriac *Alaha Mraima*, "God the Most High"? And could not Burnell's sentence, "guide ever pure," which has no good Syriac equivalent in the Nestorian breviary and liturgy, be changed into "wise guide," answering to the Syriac *Mdhabbrāna ḥakkīma* found in the daily prayer of the Nestorian clergy?[2]

The first part of the inscription of the fourth cross, which is also preserved in the Church of Koṭṭayam, is in Estrangeli characters, said to belong to the tenth century,[3] and consists of the Syriac quotation of Galat. vi. 14: "Let me not glory except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ." This quotation takes the place of the first Pahlawi line of the first two crosses.

According to the *Young Men of India* (May, 1926), a fifth cross was discovered two years ago at Muttuchira.

[1] *Beilage Zur Allgemeinen Zeitung*, 1874 (No. 29).

[2] *Breviarium Chaldaicum*, i.-ii., and iii., p. 272; and *Missale juxta ritum Ecclesiæ Syrorum Orientalium*, p. 14.

[3] I was unfortunately unable to procure a good facsimile of the Syriac characters.

(*c*)

In the Syriac document which we translated above (see p. 477) it is suggested that the Christians of Malabar secured privileges, including the right of self-government, and of possessing plots of land on which they could build churches and even towns of their own.

There are in existence two copper-plate charters which bear out the information furnished by the document which we have already translated. We will describe them very shortly in the words of Burnell and Rae ; as they are not in Syriac, they are, strictly speaking, outside the limits of this study.

The first charter is a copper instrument—$14\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 4—written on both sides in old Tamil characters mixed with a good many Grantha letters.[1] Its date is, according to Burnell's calculations, A.D. 774. It is a grant made by King Vira Raghava Chakravarti[2] to Iravi Korttan of Cranganore, making over to him, as representative head of the Christian community there, the little principality of Manigramam,[3] and elevating him to the position of sovereign merchant

The second charter consists of five copper plates bound together, according to the usual custom, by a ring passing through holes pierced in the ends of the several plates. The plates or leaves, as they are sometimes called, contain seven pages of Tamil-Malayalam, apparently written by different hands, and two pages of Pahlawi and Arabic in the Kufi characters, with four signatures in characters that look like Hebrew. The deed was granted about the year 824 with the sanction of the palace-major or commissioner of King Stanu Ravi Gupta, who is said to be identical with Charaman Perumal,[4] whose name, in the words of Rae, is in the mouth of every child on the coast. It is a legal document by which one Marvan-Sapir-Iso[5] who had obtained a grant of a piece of land in the neighbourhood of Quilon, transfers the same with due legal formality to the Tarasa Church and community.

[1] Burnell says: "It is now in the possession of one of the rival Syrian Metropolitans of Kottayam."

[2] On this king, see the Syriac document translated above on p. 477.

[3] The name is said to mean "city of gems."
of Kerala.

[4] See about this name the Syriac documents translated above on p. 480.

[5] This is undoubtedly the bishop Sapor who is mentioned by our Syriac document (translated above on p. 477) and of whom we spoke on pp. 498, 508.

A particularly interesting point in the charter is that all those who signed the grant as witnesses seem to have come from Persia and Arabia, and were probably emigrants.[1]

Two personal, and in our judgment, important, remarks on the charter will close the section: (1) There is no doubt in my mind that the problematic name *Marvan-Sapir-Iso* mentioned in it is the Syriac *Maran Sabr-Isho*, "our Lord Sabrisho." *Mar* is the Syriac title of all bishops, and *Sabrisho* is a very common Syriac name meaning "Jesus is my hope." The name, therefore, of the bishop of India of whom it is spoken above on pp. 477, 498, was not Sapor at all, as hitherto believed, but Sabrisho. This important point in which we cannot read a doubtful conclusion of any kind, disposes of all the hypotheses and unsound remarks written on the subject by Burnell (*ibid.*, p. 314), Rae (*ibid.*, p. 156, 163), and others. (2) Burnell informs us (*ibid.*, p. 310), that in the charter the Church is said to have been built by one *Ishodatavirai*. This proper name also designates without doubt the well-known Syriac name *Isho dad*, formed of a Syriac and Persian compound meaning, "Jesus gave," or "Jesu-datus."

Mr. K. N. Daniel has a long discussion [2] on the plate kept in the Old Seminary at Kottayam by the Metropolitan Mar Dionysius. With the conclusions drawn by him (*ibid.*, p. 251) as to the date of the grant, mostly from astronomical calculations, I am unable to agree. The date A.D. 230 seems to me to be too early, but even here I am not inclined to close the door to further researches on the subject.

C.

Non-Syriac Indian Tradition.

For the sake of completeness (and for nothing else), we will allude here very shortly to the non-Syriac Indian tradition.[3]

[1] So believes Haug, *An Old Pahlawi-Pazand Glossary*, p. 82. We believe, however, that they were Indian Christians with Syrian Christian names.

[2] *Indian Antiquary*, 1924, 185 sqq.

[3] Logan, *ibid.*, i., 276 sqq.; Medlycott, *ibid.*, p. 132 sqq.; Milne Rae, *ibid.*, pp. 162, 373-374, and especially P. J. Thoma's *The South Indian Tradition of the Apostle Thomas*, in "Centenary Supplement" to *J.R.A.S.*, 1924, pp. 213-223, and T. K. Joseph in the *Young Men of India*,

(*a*).

There are non-Syriac Malabar accounts of the Apostle Thomas in scattered songs and ballads, the most authoritative collection of which is a poetical work of 450 lines entitled *Thoma Parvam*, composed in Malayalam, probably in A.D. 1601, by Maliekel Thoma Rambān, forty-eighth in descent from the ancestor "Thoma," who received baptism from the Apostle Thomas' own hand. The subject matter of the song is a detailed itinerary of St. Thomas in South India, with vivid accounts of his doings in various centres. It begins with the journey of Thomas, accompanied as usual by the merchant Aban (= Ḥabban), and ends with his martyrdom in A.D. 72, when he was stabbed to death near Mailapore by a company of Hindu priests. The narrative even makes Thomas sail from Mailapore for Malacca and China.

It would be useless to emphasise the fact that these traditions are a dim echo of the Syriac *Acta*, and that apart from this fact there is as much history in them as in some good stories of the Arabian Nights entertainments. To say more than this would be an insult to the intelligence of the historian.

(*b*).

It seems that the tradition of Thomas's mission in South India is not confined to Malabar Christians, but that it is shared by their Hindu neighbours. There is apparently a collection of Hindu legends concerning the Apostle in a Brahmin work called *Kēralolpatti*. They tell us that a certain foreigner, Thoman, who is spoken of as an opponent of all vedas, came to Malabar and converted to his "Bouddha" faith many prominent people of the land, including the king, whose name is given as Bana Perumal.

As we have no means for ascertaining whether the above Thoman was the Apostle Thomas, or the legendary merchant Thomas of

May, 1926, etc. See also Nagan Aiya, *Travancore State Manual*, ii., 122; Richards, *The Indian Christians of St. Thomas* (1908); and D'Cruz, *St. Thomas the Apostle in India*. Cf. also some authors mentioned above, p. 435. The earlier sources are: Maffei, *Historiarum Indicarum Libri* xvi., Bergomi, 1747, i., 49; Barbosa, *Delle Navigationi et Viaggi*, Venetia, 1550, 339; G. Correa, *Lendas da India*, Lisboa, 1855-1864, i., 365, 660, 683 (Correa went to India in 1514).

Jerusalem (see above, p. 476), or the problematic bishop Thoma Cana (see above, p. 481), we will simply note the tradition, and till fuller light dawns relegate it to the depth of oblivion.

What India gives us about Christianity in its midst is indeed nothing but pure fable. See the Syriac documents on pp. 475, 480, and 482, with which the two above non-Syriac collections seem to coincide.

APPENDIX.

In the course of our study we have referred to or quoted some unpublished Syriac texts. All the references but one are to MSS. of my own collection in Rendel Harris Library, Birmingham; the one MS. which does not belong to this collection is in Holland. For the benefit of Syriac scholars we give below the text of all these quotations and references, but without repeating the numbers of the folios of the MSS., which have already been given in the body of the work.

From p. 455 (concerning Dadīsho' Ḳatrāya):

ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ .... ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܟܬܒ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܫܡܪܢܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ

From p. 445 (concerning Barṣalibi) :

ܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܕܟܬ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܟ ... ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܬ ܠܝ ܐܘ

The following lines are written by the same hand on the margins :—

LIST OF THE TURKISH GOVERNORS AND HIGH JUDGES OF ALEPPO FROM THE OTTOMAN CONQUEST TO A.D. 1747.

By A. MINGANA, D.D.

Foreword.

THE following pages contain two complete lists of the Turkish Governors (*Pashas*) and High Judges (*Mawāli*) of the city of Aleppo, in North Syria. The list of the Governors begins from A.H. 1002, and that of the High Judges from the year of the Ottoman conquest of Syria by Salim "the Grim," or from A.H. 922.

Both lists were probably taken from the official archives of the city by an author who died in A.H. 1157 (A.D. 1744). The reason for this assumption lies in the fact that this date is the last one mentioned at the end of each of the two lists, and that the lists (as translated below) are found in the Arabic MS. numbered 122 (ff. 38*b*-45*a*) of the Bland collection of the John Rylands Library, which although undated may safely be ascribed to the same year. A few more names are added to the lists after this date, but these, as we have said *in loc.*, are by a later hand.

We could hardly question the usefulness of these lists for the history of the Turkish domination over the country stretching below the Taurus range, and even for the history of all the Asiatic and African possessions of the old Ottoman Empire during the best two centuries and a half of its existence. A Pasha (or a maula), before his appointment to Aleppo, was generally the Pasha (or the maula) of many other important cities, and the case would be similar on the expiry of his term of office when he would certainly be transferred to some other equally important post. Now the present lists, by giving the name and the exact date of the appointment of a Pasha (or a maula), enables us to trace him in any other part of the Empire

in which he is mentioned either in historical happenings or in official records, and to fix an approximate (and often a precise) date for many events the occurrence of which would otherwise be difficult to determine chronologically. The lists have proved very valuable to me in this respect in the work of cataloguing the Turkish MSS. preserved in our Library, and also for checking the different dates mentioned in connection with some Turkish authors. Three examples will be sufficient here for our purpose :

(*a*) Rieu (*Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, p. 200) is undecided about A.H. 1117 as the date of the appointment of Ibrāhīm to the governorship of Aleppo. Our list i., No. 93 renders this date certain.

(*b*) According to Rieu (*ibid.*, p. 127) the famous Turkish writer Ḳāḍi Zādah died on the 26th of Rabī' ii., 1045. This date cannot apparently be considered as absolutely certain, because according to our list ii., No. 85, Ḳāḍi Zādah was appointed on the 14th of Shawwāl of the same year as a maula of the city of Aleppo.

(*c*) Rieu (*ibid.*, p. 98) writes that 'Abd al-Karīm b. Sinān was appointed Ḳāḍi of Aleppo in 1028. Our list ii., No. 67, informs us that this appointment took place in 1026. In 1028 Aleppo had another maula called Riyāḍi. See list ii., No. 69.

This chronological difficulty may possibly be removed in some cases by the fact that our authorities use alternately the Hijrah year or the *mulki* year, *i.e.*, the Turkish official year, and there are about two years of difference between the two computations.

What strikes a historian in his perusal of these lists is the short duration of the governorship and judgeship of a city in the old Ottoman Empire ; to my knowledge such short appointments, extending over a period of about two centuries and a half, beat all previous records. From 922 to 1157 (or during 235 years) Aleppo had no less than 190 mawāli, and from 1002 to 1157 (or during 155 years) no less than 131 Pashas took an active part in its government. Most of the governors held office for one year only. If we consider the time required in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to travel from Constantinople (or from any other remote town) to Aleppo, and if we take into account the long delays that almost always occurred from the time a Governor was appointed to that when he took actual charge of affairs, we shall not be far below the boundaries of truth

were we to assume that no Governor resided in the city more than ten months on the average: a time hardly sufficient to get a satisfactory glimpse of the inner workings of—to use more modern administrative terms—the headliwās, and of the Ḳaṣabahs, Cazas, and Nāḥiyahs which depended on them.

Those interested in Turkish onomastic science will find the lists particularly useful. In list i. the names of the following numbers are worth mentioning: 11, 17, 30, 33, 42, 46, 53, 57, 59, 63, 69, 80, 91, 102, 103, 121, 126, 131, while in list ii. one might refer to Nos. 4, 14, 17, 42, 45, 55, 56, 57, 59, 64, 101, 115, 117, 124, 125, 137, 164, 187, 18 . It is also useful to remark that Shaikh al-Islāms and sons of Shaikh al-Islāms figure in list ii.: Nos. 175, 177, 181, while list i. contains wazīrs: Nos. 123, 125.

To facilitate references to the lists we have divided them into list i., and list ii., and have numbered all the names they contain. As to spelling we have adopted the method that appeared to us more convenient, although the Turkish final *Chī* has sometimes been superseded by *Jī* as a special consideration for Arabic orthography. In list i. the years of the Hijrah precede those of the duration of the governorship. We have placed these last years between parentheses and omitted the repetition of the unnecessary verb *ḥaḳama*, "he governed," which, in the MS., is invariably written over them.

LIST I.

The Pashas of the Ottoman Dynasty who governed Aleppo from the year 1002.

[The word "Pasha" found after each name is not reproduced in the translation.]

[1] Ibrāhīm, 1002 (2). [2] Ḳūzaṭ, 1005 (1). [3] Wazīr Muṣṭafa, 1006 (1). [4] Ḥājj Ibrahīm, 1007 (1). [5] Ḥarāmi Aḥmad, 1008 (1). [6] Ganj-Wahān 'Ali, 1009 (1). [7] Abshīr, 1010 (1). [8] Alwand 'Ali, 1011 (1). [9] Naṣūḥ, 1012 (1). [10] Janbalāṭ Oghli Ḥusain, 1013 (1).* [11] Dast-Bilk Ḥusain, 1017 (1). [12] Sinān, 1018 (1). [13] Dast-Bilk Ḥusain (for the second time), 1019 (1). [14] Sinān (for the second time), 1020 (1). [15] Ḳurād-Dhawwād, 1021 (1). [16] Akmakji

* Either Aleppo remained without governor for three years, or this figure should be (4).

Oghli Aḥmad, 1022 (4). [17] Ḳara-Ḳāsh Muḥammad, 1026 (2). [18] Bustānji Ḥusain, 1028 (1). [19] Ibānat Muḥammad, 1029 (1). [20] Ḳalāwun Yūsuf, 1030 (1). [21] Muḥammad, 1031 (1). [22] Kūsah Murād, 1032 (2). [23] Wazīr Ṭiyāt Muṣṭafa, 1034 (1). [24] Yagan Muṣṭafa, 1035 (1). [25] Nūghāi Muḥammad, 1036 (1). [26] Sulaimān, 1037 (1). [27] Nūghāi Muḥammad (for the second time), 1038 (2). [28] Sūrji Aḥmad, 1040 (5). [29] Dāli Ḥusain, 1045 (1). [30] Būyuni-Agri Muḥammad, 1046 (1). [31] Malik Aḥmad, 1047 (4). [32] Naṣūḥ Oghli Ḥusain, 1051 (1). [33] Sīya-Ghūsh, 1052 (1). [34] Jiftli 'Uthmān, 1053 (1). [35] Darwīsh Aḥmad, 1054 (1). [36] Chalabi Ibrāhīm, 1055 (1). [37] Carji Muḥammad, 1056.* [38] Chalabi Ibrāhīm (for the second time), 1056 (1). [39] Juwālji Ḥasan, 1057 (1). [40] Dabbāgh Muḥammad, 1058 (1).* [41] Muṣṭarifi (uncertain reading of *fi*) Muṣṭafa, 1058 (1). [42] Nūnāni Oghli Arslān, 1059 (1). [43] Muṣṭarifi Muṣṭafa (for the second time), 1060 (1). [44] Shāṭir Ḥusain, 1061.* [45] Ja'far, 1061 (1). [46] Ābshīr Muṣṭafa, 1062 (3). [47] Ṭayyār Oghli Muṣṭafa, 1065 (1). [48] Ḳarāri Muṣṭafa, 1066.* [49] Sayid Aḥmad, 1066 (1). [50] Murtaza, 1067 (1). [51] Ibānat Ḥasan, 1067 (1). [52] Maḥmūd, 1068 (2). [53] Ṭūtsāḳ 'Ali, 1070.* [54] Khaski Muḥammad, 1070 (1). [55] Amīr Yākhwar (*sic* with R) Yūsuf, 1071 (1). [56] Wazīr Katkhūdāi Muḥammad, 1072 (1). [57] Ṣāri Ḥusain, 1073 (3). [58] Ibrāhīm; a few days only. [59] Fatḥ gerīd, 1076 (4). [60] Silaḥdār Ḥusain, 1080 (1). [61] Ṣāri Ḥusain (for the second time), 1081 (1). [62] Khalīl, 1082 (1). [63] Ḳaplān Muṣṭafa, 1083.* [64] Ibrāhīm, 1083 (2). [65] Ḳara Muḥammad 1085 (1). [66] Ḳara Muḥammad (for the second time), 1086 (5). [67] Ḳara Akbar, 1093 (1). [68] Charkaz Aḥmad, 1094 (1). [69] Bagcheri Katkhudāi Muṣṭafa, 1096 (1). [70] Maḥmūd, 1091 (2).† [71] Ibrāhīm, 1097.* [72] 'Abdi, 1097 (1). [73] Aḥmad, 1098 (2). [74] Shāwīsh, 1098 (1). [75] Khaznadār Ḥasan, 1099 (1). [76] Yagan 'Uthmān, 1100.* [77] Khaznadār Ḥasan (for the second time), 1100.* [78] 'Arab Rajab, 1100 (1). [79] Khalīl, 1101 (1). [80] Ṭupāl Ḥusain, 1102 (2). [81] Ja'far, 1104 (1). [82] Darsūn Muḥammad, 1105 (1). [83] Ja'far (for the second time), 1106 (1). [84] Silaḥdār 'Uthmān, 1107 (1). [85] Ḥasan, 1108 (1). [86] Chalabi Ḥasan, 1109 (1). [87] Ṣūfi 'Ali, 1110 (1). [88] Charkaz Muḥammad, 1111 (1). [89] Chalabi Yūsuf, 1112 (2). [90] Charkaz Muḥammad (for the second time), 1114 (1). [91] Ḥasan abū Ḳāwuḳ, 1115 (1). [92] Sulaimān, 1116 (1). [93] Ibrāhīm, 1117 (1). [94] 'Abd

* Evidently a governorship of a few months only.
† Evidently an error for 1097.

1118 (1). [95] Wazīr Muḥammad, 1119 (2). [96] Ibrāhīm (for the second time), 1121 (2). [97] Ismā'īl, 1123 (1). [98] Charkaz Muḥammad (for the third time), 1124 (1). [99] Kūsah Khalīl, 1125 (1). [100] Ḳara Ilān Oghli 'Ali, 1126.* [101] Ṭupāli Yūsuf, 1126 (1). [102] Ḳaptān Ibrāhīm, 1127 (1). [103] Maḳtūl Oghlī 'Ali, 1127 (1). [104] 'Abdar-Raḥmān, 1128.* [105] Ḥājj Muṣṭafa, 1128 (1). [106] Ḳaptān Ibrāhīm (for the second time), 1129.* [107] Charkaz Muḥammad (for the fourth time), 1129.* [108] 'Abdallah, 1129 (1). [109] 'Uthmān Katkhudāi Yūsuf, 1130 (2).* [110] Mūrli 'Ali, 1130 (2). [111] Ḥājj Rajab, 1131 (1). [112] 'Āriḳ (*sic.* perhaps 'Ārif) Aḥmad, 1132 (1). [113] Aḥmad son of Ḥasan, 1133 (1). [114] Ḥājj Rajab (for the second time), 1134 (2). [115] Sayid Ibrāhīm, 1136 (1). [116] Ḥakīm Bāshi Oghli 'Ali, 1137 (1). [117] Muḥammad, 1138.* [118] 'Āriḳ Aḥmad (for the second time), 1138 (2). [119] 'Ali Yagan, 1141 (1). [120] Muṣṭafa, 1142 (1). [121] Gurd Ibrāhīm, 1143 (two months). [122] Aḥmad the Silaḥdār of the Sultan Maḥmūd, 1143 (one month and a half). [123] Muḥammad the wazīr, in Sha'bān, 1143 (2). [124] Ḳara Muṣṭafa, in 23 Sha'bān, 1145 (eight months). [125] Muḥammad the wazir (for the second time) at the beginning of Rabī' ii, 1146 (eleven months). [126] Pūlād Ḥājj Aḥmad, at the beginning of Rajab, 1147 (1). [127] Muṣṭafa Ḥusain, on the fifth of Shawwāl, 1148 (1 and one month). [128] 'Uthmān son of 'Abdar-Raḥmān, first appointed 4th of Sha'bān, 1150 (1 and ten months). [129] Aḥmad Yagan 'Uthmān, first appointed Jumāda ii, 1152 (eleven months). [130] Ya'ḳūb, first appointed 19th Rabī' ii, 1153 (seven months and eleven days). [131] Ḥusain, 1154 (2 and five months). [131] Chāliḳ Muḥammad son of Būlā-dort, on 14th Rabī' ii, 1157.

[Evidently the compiler of the above list died at the beginning of the governorship of Chāliḳ, because the following entries have been added by a later hand] :

"The governorship of Aleppo went then to Ḥusain while in Erzerrum, on the 27th Ramaḍān, 1157, but he died in Erzerrum. Then the governorship went to Muḥammad Yadakchi, after (his governorship of ?) Egypt, on . . . 1157. Then the governorship went to Muḥammad, commander in chief of the troops near Ḳarṣ, in the beginning of Muḥarram, 1158. . . . Then the governorship of Aleppo went to Ḥusain, while in Van ; then His Excellency was appointed to the governorship of Diarbaker, in the middle of Sha'bān, 1160.

* Evidently a governorship of a few months only.

LIST II.

The High Judges (mawāli of Aleppo from the year of conquest 922.

[The word "effendi" found after each name is not reproduced in the translation.]

[1] Kamāl son of Farfūr. [2] Zain al-'Ābidīn, the maghribi. [3] Ḳara Ḥaidar. [4] Kūlah Maḥmūd. [5] Muḥammad. [6] Muḥammad Ḳuṭb ad-Dīn. [7] 'Abdallah Fanāri Zādah. [8] 'Abd al-'Azīz. [9] Abū Ḥillīth. [10] Ja'far. [11] Maḥbūl Pīr Aḥmad. [12] Sinān Chalabī. [13] Sāchlu-Arīr. [14] Ṣāliḥ son of Jalāl ar-Rūshani. [15] 'Abd al-Bāḳi. [16] Parwīz, son of 'Abd al-Karīm. [17] Khōjah Ḳāpani Muḥammad. [18] Amīr Ḥasan, son of Chinārah Zādah. [19] Muḥammad Imām Zādah. [20] Mu'allim Zādah. [21] Aḥmad known as Būṣi Zādah. [22] Muḥammad Amīn Zādah. [23] Abu as-Su'ūd. [24] Fesfīl. [25] Aḥmad Ṣāmṣūni. [26] Alzam Zādah. [27] Ma'lūm Zādah. [28] The brother of Ṣāmṣūni Zādah. [29] Aḥmad, son of Sinān. [30] Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz. [31] Zakarīya. [32] 'Ali, son of Sinān. [33] Muṣṭafa Sinān Zādah. [34] Muḥammad Ṣāri Ḳadri Zādah. [35] Muṣtafa Sinān Zādah (for the second time). [36] Asīf-Allah. [37] Muḥammad Kamāl Zādah. [38] Aḥmad Ḥusain Bakr Zādah. [39] Muḥammad Amīr Zādah. [40] Sayid Muṣtafa al-Khāli. [41] Muḥammad Su'ūdi. [42] Faiḍ-Allah Ḳān Zādah. [43] Ḥusain Fanāri Zādah. [44] Kamāl Ṭāsh-Kupri Zādah.* [45] 'Abd al-Bāḳi Ḳūrshūn Zādah, 1003. [46] Yaighali Sulaimān.† [47] Yaḥya, son of Zakarīya, in Muḥarram, 1005. [48] Kamāl Kupri Zādah (for the second time) in Dhu l'Ḥijjah, 1006. [49] Muzaffar ad-Dīn, in Shawwāl, 1007. [50] Īyāsi Aḥmad, 1007. [51] Ḥaidar, in the beginning of Rajab, 1008. [52] 'Abd ar-Raḥīm Iskandar Zādah, 1010. [53] Muḥammad Ḳara Chalabi Zādah, 1011. [54] Yaḥya Sinān Zādah, 1012. [55] Muṣtafa, son of Bāli Būli, 1013. [56] Sayid Muḥammad Sharīf Umīdi, 1014. [57] 'Abdallah Dakhi Zādah, 1015. [58] Ibrāhīm Manla Zādah, 1017. [59] Muḥammad Jismi Zādah, 1018. [60] Iyāsi Aḥmad (for the second time) 1019. [61] Ḳara Saifi Ṣabāy Nīshānchi, 1021. [62] Muṣtafa 'Ushshāḳi Zādah, 1022. [63] Muḥammad Ḳara-Gulma Zādah, 1023. [64] Ḥassāfi Ṭu-

* Evidently the author did not know the exact date of the magistracy of the above forty-four judges who held office during 11 yers from 992 to 1003 A.H.

† No date.

lūmchi Zādah, 1024. [65] Amīn Muḥammad Ṣadr ad-Dīn Zādah ash-Sharwāti, 1024. [66] Sayid Muḥammad Sāḳi Zadah (for the second time), 1025. [67] 'Abd al-Karīm, 1026. [68] Sa'd ad-Dīn Mawāli Zādah, 1027. [69] Riāḍi Muḥammad Idrīs Zādah, 1028. [70] 'Abdallah Maḥmūd Zādah, 1029. [71] Muṣṭafa Ḥasan Beg-Zādah, 1030. [72] Ḳāsim, in 21 Shawwāl, 1031. [73] Muḥammad Nāyib Zādah, in 15 Muḥarram, 1032. [74] 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Nāmi Zādah, 1033. [75] Muṣṭafa Ḥassāki Zādah, 1035. [76] Shaikh Muḥammad Fanāri, 1035. [77] Sayid Muḥammad, 1036. [78] Sayid 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Saifi, 1037. [79] Muṣṭafa, in 13 Shawwāl, 1038. [80] Muḥammad son of Muḥammad Bustān Zādah, 1039. [81] 'Abd al-'Azīz 'Ushshāḳi Zādah, 1040. [82] Mas'ūd Khwājah Zādah, 1042. [83] Muḥammad son of Gharīb Khwājah Zādah, 1043. [84] Aḥmad Manṭiḳi Zādah, 1044. [85] Ḳāḍi Zādah Muḥammad, the scholar, in 14 Shawwāl, 1045. [86] Kupri Zādah Muḥammad, 1047. [87] Muḥammad, 1048. [88] Katkhudā Zādah Sayid Ḥasan, in 1048. [89] As'ad Muḥammad, 1049. [90] Sayid 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Ḥassāfi Zādah, 1050. [91] Sayid 'Abdallah, son of Muṣliḥ ad-Dīn, 1050. [92] Shaikhi Muḥammad Sinān, 1051. [93] Muṣṭafa, 1053. [94] Raḥmat Allah, 1054. [95] Khātim Zādah Ḥasan, 1055. [96] Sayid Muḥammad Amīn Ṣafi Zādah, 1056. [97] Sa'd Zādah Saif-Allah, 1057. [98] Bustāni Zādah Aḥmad, 1057. [99] 'Ushshāḳi son of 'Abd ar-Raḥīm, in Rabī' ii, 1058. [100] Ruḥ Allah Ṣadr ad-Dīn Zādah, 1058. [101] Uzūn Ḥasan, in Sha'bān, 1059. [102] Abu as-Su'ūd Zādah Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ, 1060. [103] 'Ajami Muḥammad, 1061. [104] Sayid Aḥmad, 1062. [105] Sha'rāni Zādah, 1063. [106] Aḥmad, son of 'Abd al-'Azīz, 1064. [107] 'Abd al-Bāḳi, 1065. [108] Aḥmad al-Bahāli Zādah, 1066. [109] Ḥasan Pasha Zādah Muṣṭafa, 1066. [110] Muṣṭafa, in the beginning of Rajab, 1067. [111] 'Umar 'Adli, 1068. [112] Muṣṭafa, 1068. [113] Walī Zādah Aḥmad, 1069. [114] Muṣṭafa, 1070. [115] 'Abdallah al-Muḳallib al-Maṣlūb, 1071. [116] Jismi Zādah Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, 1072. [117] Ḳaba-Ḳūlāḳ Muḥammad, in 10 Sha'bān, 1073. [118] Faiḍ-Allah 'Uthmān Zādah, 1075. [119] Kamāl Zādah Aḥmad (he died in Aleppo and he is buried in the *Ṣāliḥīn*), 1076. [120] 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Ḥammād Ḳapān, 1076. [121] Bayāḍi Zādah Aḥmad, 1077. [122] Kawwāki Zādah Shaikh Muḥammad, 1079. [123] A'raj 'Umar. 1080. [124] ĀḴ Maḥmūd, 1081. [125] Ḳiz 'Ali (he died in Aleppo and he is buried in the *Ṣāliḥīn*), 1083. [126] Ṭūsi Muḥammad (he died in Aleppo and he is buried in the *Ṣaliḥīn*), 1083. [127] Sayid abu s-Su'ūd As'ad Zādah, 1084. [128] Sa'īd Muḥammad, 1085. [129] Manla Zādah Ḥasan (he died in Aleppo and he is buried in the *Sāliḥīn*),

1086. [130] Khwājah Zādah Sayid 'Uthmān, 1087. [131] Buzurkhi Zādah Maḥmūd, 1089. [132] Taufiḳi Zādah Muḥammad, 1090. [133] Ṣadr ad-Dīn Ṣādiḳ Muḥammad, 1091. [134] Riḳi Muḥammad, 1092. [135] Muḥarram Zādah Muḥammad, 1093. [136] 'Abd al-Laṭīf, son of Muḥammad imām Muṣṭafa Pasha, 1095. [137] At-Zādah 'Abdallah the Mufti, 1096. [138] Jauhari Zādah Muḥammad, in the beginning of Ṣafar, 1098. [139] Maḥmūd Baiḍi Zadah, 1099. [140] Kūchik Khōi Luṭf Allah, 1100. [141] Abu Bakr Kha'rāni Zādah (he died in Aleppo), 1101. [142] Idrīs, 1102. [143] Tatar 'Abd al-Ḥalīm, 1103. [144] Ḳara Ismā'īl, 1104. [145] Ḥasan, 1105. [146] Muḥammad Kalyūli Ḳatawi Amīni, 1106. [147] Sayid Ya'ḳūb, 1107. [148] Shams ad-Dīn Zādah Muḥammad, 1109. [149] Jismi Zādah 'Abd al-Karīm, 1110. [150] Sayid Muḥammad Azmīri Zādah, 1111. [151] Muḥammad imām of the Shaikh al-Islam Sayid Muttaḳi-Allah al-Ajḳam, 1112. [152] Amr Allah (he is buried in the Shaikh Abu Bakr, in Aleppo), 1113. [153] Ṣāliḥ, son of 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Khammār Ḳapān, 1114. [154] Walī ad-Dīn Kawākibi Zādah, Rabī' i, 1115. [155] Dibri Muḥammad, 1116. [156] 'Abdallah, the mufti of the Shaikh al-Islām, 1117. [157] Shaikh Zādah Muḥammad, in Ṣafar, 1119. [158] Kabīri 'Abd ar-Raḥmān, 1120. [159] Wujdi Ibrāhim, 1121. [160] Ṣāliḥ, the imām of Sulṭān Muṣṭafa, 1122. [161] Faiḍ-Allah son of Yaḥya, 1123. [162] Chirāchi Ḥasan, in Rabī' i, 1124. [163] Ḥasan Zilāli, in Jumāda i, 1125. [164] 'Abd al-Bāḳi Parmaḳ Zādah, in Jumāda i, 1126. [165] 'Abdallah son of Yaḥya, in Jumāda, i, 1127. [166] Ismā' īl (the judge of the town) 1128. [167] Aḥmad 'Uthmān Zādah, in the beginning of Shawwāl, 1129. [168] Maḥmūd Ṣadr ad-Dīn, in Dhu l-Ḳa'dah, 1130. [169] Muṣṭafa Manṣūri Zādah, in the beginning of Dhu l-Ḥijjah 1132. [170] 'Ali Aḥmad, in Rabī' i, 1133. [171] Ḥusain, in the beginning of Rabī' ii, 1134 (he is buried in Baḥsīta[?]). [172] La'li Zādah 'Abdallah, in the beginning of Ramaḍān, 1134. [173] Rāshid Muḥammad, in the beginning of Dhu l-Ḥijjah, 1135. [174] Sayid Muḥammad Ṣadr ad-Dīn 'Ushshāḳi Zādah, in Rabī' i, 1137. [175] 'Abdallah the Shaikh al-Islam Zādad, 1138. [176] Ḥusain son of Yaḥya, in the beginning of Shawwāl, 1139. [177] Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Dāmāt, the Shaikh al-Islam, in the beginning of Ṣafar, 1141. [178] Walī ad-Dīn, in the beginning of Jumāda i, 1142. [179] Sayid Aḥmad Tadhkarachi Walī ad-Dīn, in the beginning of Jumāda i, 1143. [180] Sayid Aḥmad Nafasi Zādah, in the beginning of Sha'bān, 1144. [181] Sayid 'Uthmān, son of Sayid Faiḍ-Allah, the Shaikh al-Islām, in the beginning of Dhu l-Ḳa'dah, 1145. [182] Sayid Ḥusain Wahbi, in the beginning of Rabī' ii, 1147. [183] Muḥammad Sa'īd, son of 'Abd al-Karīm Jismi Zādah, in Jumāda ii, 1148. [184] Sayid

Yaḥya the nephew of Sayid Ḥasan (Ḥusain ? cf. No. 182) Wahbi, in the beginning of Rajab, 1149. [185] Muḥammad, in the beginning of Ramaḍān, 1150. [186] Muḥammad Chirāchi Zādah, in the beginning of Dhu l-Ḥijjah, end of 1151. [187] Muḥammad Amīn Maḍrūb Zādah, in the beginning of Rabī' i, 1153. [188] 'Abdallah Gādāli, in the beginning of Jumāda i, 1154. [189] Ḥusain Shākir Beg, in the beginning of Sha'bān, 1155 (he died 17th Sha'bān, 1155). [190] Walī ad-Dīn, in the beginning of Dhu l-Ḥijjah, 1155 (he died 4th Sha'bān, 1156).

[A later hand has scribbled here the names of two more maulas called Muḥammads who came to Aleppo in 1157 and 1158 respectively].

ANOTHER LAUDERDALE LETTER.

By FREDERICK J. POWICKE, M.A., PH.D.

IN the BULLETIN for July, 1922,[1] eleven letters of John, Second Earl of Lauderdale to Richard Baxter were published and no other was known to me. They were all written from Windsor Castle—the place of his detention since April, 1656—and the last, or what I took to be the last, was dated 17 March, 1658. But it was not the last. The last was written a year later—this time from London on March 20th, and signed simply 'Yo^rs.' In consequence of its anonymity Mr. Black (who compiled a list of the Baxter MSS.) did not class it under his name, and apparently did not note the identity of its writing with that of the letters with his name attached. Hence it happened that I, too, missed it until I came upon it one day as a result of going carefully through the whole contents of the particular volume where it slumbers. The very first sentence shows that the correspondence had gone on—however intermittently—during the year: for this is in response to a letter of Baxter's dated the 7th which the Earl found, greatly to his relief, "at Tom Underhill's[2] shop yesterday." The year had brought tremendous agitations to both of them—most of all, probably, to Baxter, who hoped for an era of peaceful settlement on the quiet succession of Richard to his masterful father. A Solomon after a David was his expectation. Instead of which the fountains of the great deep were broken up; and he himself almost engulfed. On April 25, 1659, just as he finished what was to be the last section of his mature pronouncement on the political situation—'the Holy Commonwealth'—came the news of Richard's dissolution of Parliament under pressure from Fleetwood and the great officers of the Army. The very thing he most dreaded—military rule—had come to pass. On May 7 the Long Parliament

[1] Vol. vii. pp. 73-105.
[2] Tom Underhill was Baxter's publisher.

'or rather the fag end,' was restored—a somewhat reassuring fact. But on the 25th Richard formally abdicated and vanished into private life. The soldiers were uppermost, though Parliament claimed, and might seem to have, its way. "The members returned to their seats without a doubt that they possessed an indefeasible right to rule a people, some fraction of which had once elected them to represent it. They were the Bourbons of republicanism." Sir Henry Vane was the ruling, or driving, spirit of the republic which they tried to set up; and Baxter was made to feel his anger. In one of the suppressed passages of his autobiography he tells how Vane 'grievously threatened' him 'for shifting the guilt of the King's death from the Presbyterians to the military fanatics, Anabaptists and Vanists;' how he 'complained of him by name in the Parliament;' and how he 'sought, by messengers, to affright' him, and make him recant. Nothing came of this nor of the suspicions which were directed towards him in connection with the abortive rising of Sir George Booth in September.[1] He knew of the rising from Sir Ralph Clare of Kidderminster, and undoubtedly wished it well; but thought its defeat, and the defeat of any similar attempt, must be certain in the absence of any cordial and general understanding between the Presbyterians and 'Episcopal men.' Consequently, all he did was limited to private efforts—by means of Sir Ralph Clare and Dr. Hammond, for example—to make sure of some (Ecclesiastical) agreement with the Episcopal men. Then they, and his party, could work for the King unitedly. Meanwhile, however, events rushed forward. On October 13 a military clique broke up the Parliament. On November 24 the deposed Council of State, whose place had been taken by a 'Committee of Safety,' sent General Monck a commission to command all the forces in England and Scotland; and Monck was soon on the march into England. On December 26 the Rump was restored. On February 21 the members secluded since December, 1648, were readmitted. On March 15 the House dissolved itself and fixed the meeting of a Free Parliament for April 25. On that date the new Parliament assembled; and six days later voted the King's return. It was in the interval between the dissolution of the old and election

[1] "They laid wait upon the Road for my Letters" and sent one of them up to Sir Henry Vane to London, R. B. ii. 207.

of the new House—when the commotion of all parties was at its height, and the issue still undecided, that Lauderdale wrote to Baxter this last letter. The issue hung upon the attitude of the Presbyterians—already a name for the great middle party between the so-called fanatics and the Cavaliers; and their attitude hung very much upon what they could be made to think about the King. Was he a good Protestant? was he resolved to effect a fair settlement of the Church? was he worthy of trust? To convince them of all this became Lauderdale's absorbing business; and, above all, to convince Baxter. This was why, even before his release on March 8, he offered, in a letter now lost, to visit Baxter at Kidderminster incognito, as soon as he was out of prison; and why he was so concerned at not hearing from Baxter; and why, in the present letter, he repeated his promise to come, as soon as he had the means to pay for his fare; and why Baxter suddenly resolved to anticipate the Earl by hurrying up to London; and why Lauderdale waited upon him at once. The cryptic language of the letter—near the end—suggests quite clearly the burning question. Charles, of course, is the 'gentleman' to whom the writer wishes very well; but against whom he hears Baxter has declared himself. On other points in the controversy—King *versus* Protector or Republic—they are agreed. They are at one about the doctrine and its application; in plain words, about kingship and Charles's kingly rights. His fitness to be king, or his utter unfitness, is what troubles Baxter; and troubles many others, he thinks—the secluded members, for instance, those loyal friends of Parliamentary government who have lately regained their seats, and with whom Baxter's sympathy had always been strong. As to these, says the Earl, a word in your ear. They 'are not all of a mind. Some may be changed since you saw them. This I can assure you;' while, as to yourself, wait till you see me; and 'I am confident you will trust me in matters of fact and hear my reasons.' You are too strong for me in other controversies, but not in this. Baxter may have hurried up partly out of regard for the Earl's empty purse; or partly to escape a too compromising visit from one who, in a small and inquisitive community, could not well be hid; but his strongest motive seems clear. He was eager to get at the facts about Charles which Lauderdale professed to know. And Lauderdale talked him over; nor is this surprising, if we remember that he had never seen the Earl

but knew him only through his letters; that these had conveyed the impression of a kind and humble and genuinely pious man; that Baxter, therefore, was disposed to credit what Lauderdale told him, from his own former experience, and from the recent testimony of others, in the King's favour; and that the Earl had a very plausible tongue.

But, after all, he would not have prevailed had the course of events been otherwise. Those events spoke with a voice far more powerful than Lauderdale's eloquence. He took it to be the voice of God. So, whatever Charles might be, it was God's will to call him back and accept the consequences. "I was myself so much affected with the strange Providences of God that I procured the Ministers to agree upon a Publick Thanksgiving to God. And I think all the Victories which that Army obtained were not more wonderful than their Fall was, when Pride and Errour had prepared them for it. It seemed wonderful to me that an Army that had got so many great and marvellous Victories and thought themselves unconquerable, and talkt of nothing but Dominion at home, and marching up to the Walls of *Rome*, should all be broken and brought into Subjection, and finally Disbanded, without one blow stricken, or one drop of Blood shed! And that by so small a power as *Monk's* Army in the beginning was: So eminent was the Hand of God in all this Change!"[1]

But there was one factor in the situation of which he made no account, and that was himself. Suppose he had read the signs differently; and had got the ministers to see with him; and had used his incomparable influence in the London pulpits to persuade the people; and had 'procured' the ministers to do likewise, would there have been a restoration, or, at least, an immediate and bloodless one? Would the members of the new Parliament, many of whom were certainly of doubtful mind, have carried a vote to invite the King? Nay, would the crafty Monck, who to the end held the scales so delicately, have dipped them finally for the King's return, if Baxter and his friends had stood out against it? It was the 'Presbyterians,' headed by Baxter, who, at the critical moment, had the casting vote. And Lauderdale was acutely and nervously aware of this. He felt it a necessity to win Baxter, because to win him was to win the

[1] R. B., ii., 214.

game ; nor can he ever have been more relieved and delighted than when Baxter "procured the Ministers to agree upon a Publick thanksgiving" for the object he had at heart.

The interpretation of Providence is apt to be a perilous thing. One may so easily find what one wants to see. Baxter wanted to see the hand of God descend in ruinous strokes on the Fanatics and Sectaries—people who, on their part, had once seen the hand of God uplifted for them in miraculous victories ; and now bewailed His withdrawal from them on account of their sins, but without any loss of faith in their cause as the cause of God. They thought that Baxter and his party, from hatred of them, had joined themselves to the dark powers of evil and would live to rue it. Baxter did live to rue it. In one of those self-confessions which, for their brave and humble sincerity, so endear him to his reader, he says—after mentioning seven other occasions for repentance—"And I do more repent of this cause of all, viz., *that I appointed God a time*, and limited his Providence." The context shows that he was referring to the King's Restoration—twenty-two years before. Bitter experience had taught him that the time of it was not God's time, though it had seemed to be marked out by God's wonderful workings. It was not God's time, but really the time seized upon by man's impetuous passions. These were the powers—the dark powers—which brought back the King, and God suffered them to have their way. It was, however, not *his* way. They did but hinder the better way which his 'omnipotency' held in reserve, and would surely have revealed, despite the human weakness of it, in his own time. Thus did Baxter revise his attitude of 1660, as he looked back sadly and regretfully in 1682.[1] His own insight had failed ; and Lauderdale's counsel had led him wrong.

B. MSS. (Letters) V. f 211[ab]—anonymous but certainly the Earl of Lauderdale's last letter to Baxter, dated 20 March (1660), London, endorsed For the Reverend—my much Honored friend —Mr. Richard Baxter, Minister of the Gospel—at Kiderminster.

SIR,

I hope I need not tell you how welcome yo[r] Letters are ever to me, but never was any of them so welcome as this last of the

[1] The True History of Councils . . . pp. 204-5.

7(th), w^ch I found at Tom Underhill's shop yesterday. For on Thursday was sennet that member of the Councell (by whom you was pleas'd to send me a kinde message) gave me a grievous alarm by the first news of y^r dangerous sicknes. But blessed be the Lord I see better hopes in this—that our God will yet preserve you till you become a more usefull instrument in setling peace in the Churches of Great Brittaine. Yo^r charity in considering my concerns gives me the confidence to acquaint you with them. Upon the restoring the secluded members they were pleased the very first day to demand ane account to be given of the causes of our restraint. In obedience to w^ch order the warrants for our comitment were sent. I did desire the Governor (in jest) to certifie that my crime was *Original Sin*, for I told him seriously nothing can be charged against me but that I was born in Scotland and obeyed the Laws and Supreame authority where I onely owed my alledgance. The busines was delayed ten or twelve dayes. At last ane order was sent for our enlargement upon Security to the Councell. On the 8(th) of this month we appeared before them and had our liberty on honest terms without any restraint, except not to goe to Scotland without Leave. Thus it hath pleased the Lord to restore me to Liberty after 8 yeares and just 6 months imprisonment.

My next endeavor was to have been restored to the poore remnant of my Estate, and I found many friends and great professions of the justice of my demand. The Councell ordered it to be reported as their opinion That the Hous wold authorise them to restore me if they saw cause. But either the shortnes of the time or some unknown reason made the order insignificant. Sure I am it was not reported. So that I lye in the same condition as to my Estate. But my desire is to reste all my concerns on him who rules heaven and earth. By his gracious providence things are brought to a more hopefull condition as to publick liberty. Many yokes of illegall oppressions are broken. By the same providence and without my demanding it I have gott my Liberty. Why, then, should I repine, thogh the Lord thinks it not fitt to trust me at once with Liberty and outward accommodations? I will, in his strenth, labour to waite patiently (having done duety in demanding my owne). Let the Lord doe with me what he pleases and when he pleases. This condition makes it not possible for me at this time to satisfy myself in performing my promise, but, esoone as I am enabled I shall come incognito to Kederminster. I long (more than

you can) to speake w^th^ you even about that controversie w^ch^ you hint at. It is a vanity for me to pretend that I can satisfy you in any point of controversie; yet in *this* I am confident I can. We are agreed as to the doctrine, and in the application I can say so much; and I am so confident you will trust me in matter of fact and heare my reasons that I shall beseech you not to engage against the generall receaved opinion till I can have the happiness to see you. This I say because it is reported in towne That you have declared against a Gentleman to whom I wish very well. I doe not beleeve it; yet friendship compells me to give you this hint. One hint more, let me give you. All secluded members are not of a minde. Some may be changed since you saw them. This I can assure you. I am unchangeably

Yo^rs^.

20 *March, London.*

One of the slanders diligently fostered, if not first set going, by the unscrupulous scribler, Roger L'Estrange—a slander which did much to intensify and prolong the sufferings of Baxter's friends, as well as to justify their persecution in the eye of public opinion—was this, that the Presbyterians were rebels all along; were partly guilty of the late royal Martyr's blood; and had done all they could to keep his son from the throne. This letter of Lauderdale's alone is enough to disprove such a story, but I will quote Baxter's summary disproof of it—and merely remark that he had to repeat the disproof, in some form or other, to the end of his life; and that there are still intelligent, but prejudiced, people who think the story true.

"What the Presbyterians[1] did to preserve and restore the King, is a thing that we need not go to any Corners or Cabinets to prove! The Votes for Agreement upon the King's concessions in the *Isle of Wight* prove it; the Ejection and Imprisonment of most of the House of Commons and all the House of Lords prove it; the Calamitous overthrow of two Scottish Armies prove it. The Death of Mr. *Love*, with the Imprisonment and Flight of other *London* ministers prove it; the Wars in Scotland, and their Conquest by *Cromwell* prove it; the Rising of Sir *George Booth* and his Army's

[1] See *supra* for the right sense of this name.

overthrow prove it; the Surprize of *Dublin Castle* from the Anabaptists by Colonel *John Bridges* and others in *Ireland*, and the Gratulations of General *Monk* in *England*, the Concurrence of the *Londoners*, and the Ministers there, the Actual Preparations of the Restored Members of the Long Parliament, and the Consent of the Council of State left by them, and the Calling in of the King hereupon by the next Parliament, without one contradicting Voice, and finally the Lords and Gentlemen of the King's old Party in all Countreys' (counties) addressing themselves to the Parliamentarians, and the King's grateful Acknowledgments in his Letters, and his Speeches in Parliament, do all put this Matter out of question."[1]

[1] R.B., ii., 215.

THE TWENTY-SIXTH ODE OF SOLOMON.

RENDERED IN PROSE AND VERSE.

By J. RENDEL HARRIS, M.A., Litt.D., D.Theol.

ODE 26.

I poured out praise to the Lord ;
For I am His :
And I will speak His holy song,
For my heart is with Him.
For His Harp is in my hands,
And the Odes of His Rest shall not be silent.
I will cry unto Him from my whole heart ;
I will praise and exalt Him with all my members.
For from the East and even to the West
Is His praise :
And from the South and even to the North
Is His confession :
And from the top of the hills to their utmost bound
Is His perfection.
Oh ! that one could write the Odes of the Lord,
Or that one could read them !
Oh ! that one could train his soul for life,
That his soul might be saved !
Oh ! that one could rest on the Most High,
That from His mouth he might speak !
Oh ! that one could interpret the wonders of the Lord !
For he who interprets would be dissolved,
And that which is interpreted would remain.
For it suffices to know and to rest ;
For in the rest the singers stand ;
Like a river which has an abundant fountain,
And flows to the help of them that seek it.

Hallelujah !

ODE 26.

Fountain head of endless bliss,
He is mine and I am His;
Let me music's call obey,
Rise and tune a heavenly lay.

In my hands His holy Lyre,
On my lips His sacred Fire,
Music heavenly in my breast.
Songs of peace and songs of rest.

Heaven to earth for music calls;
Sing His praise, ye ransomed thralls,
Rescued from the galling chain,
Sing His praise and sing again.

Sound it forth from East to West,
Sing again the songs of rest;
South is warbling to the North,
Warble thou His work, His worth.

Far beyond horizon's bound,
Hill to hill takes up the sound;
Echoes back the furthest zone,
Join and make His praise thy own.

Oh! that one could join the strain,
Mingle with that glad refrain;
Capture angel songs for earth,
Dower of the second birth.

Oh! that Jesus from on high
Gave me heaven's minstrelsy;
Set my songful soul to tell
All his wealth unsearchable.

Still when I pursue the chase,
Following Praise from place to place,
Making higher, further flight,
In the depth or in the height,

Fails my spirit in the spheres,
Languishes and disappears ;
Fades from off the heavenly plains,
Passes, while its song remains.

Could I once that music reach,
Once attain that sacred speech,
Once expound that wondrous Love,
Gladly would I then remove ;

Gladly leave my finished quest,
Finding once His songs of rest ;
This the fount of life for me,
This the river, this the sea.